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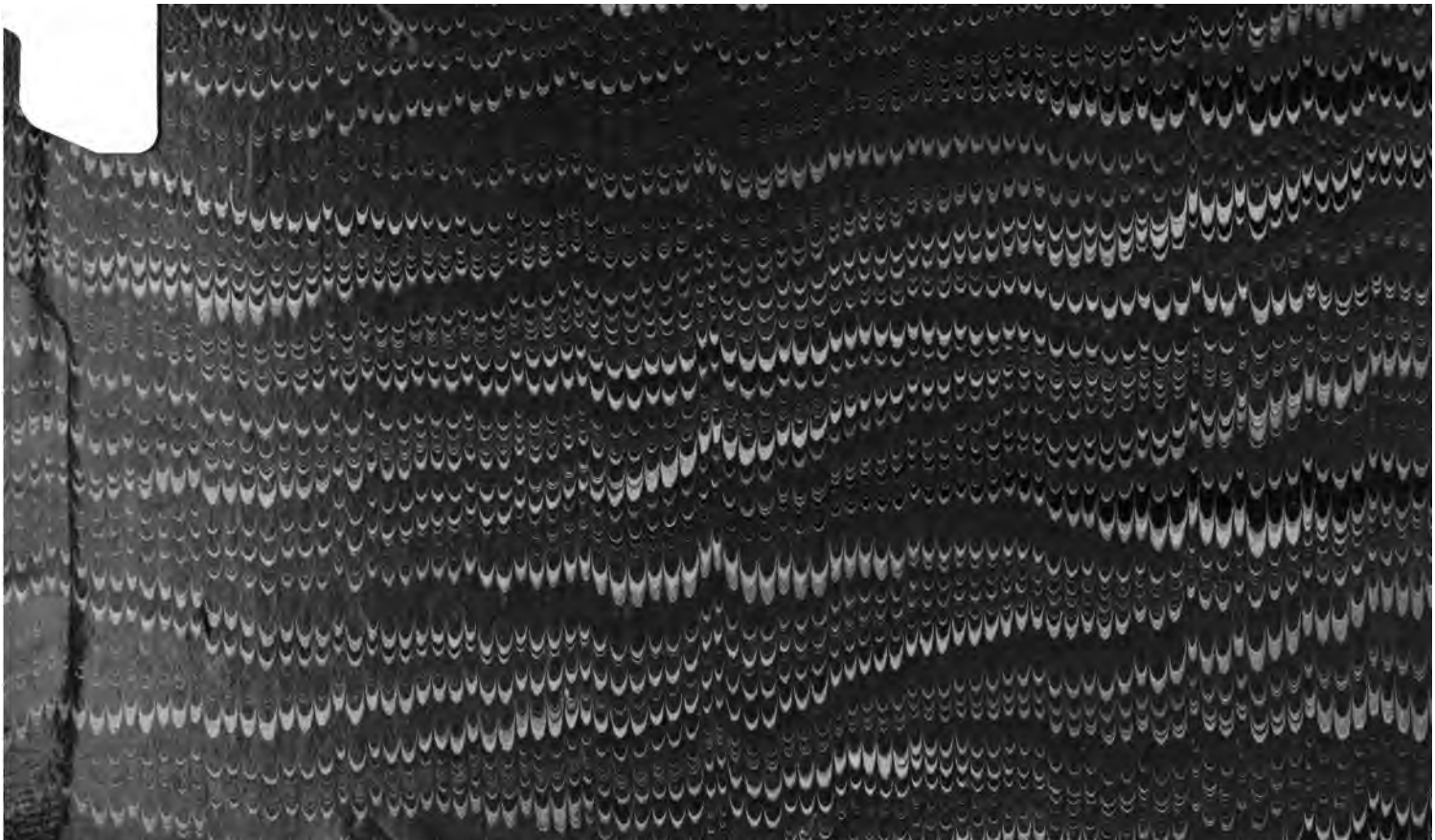
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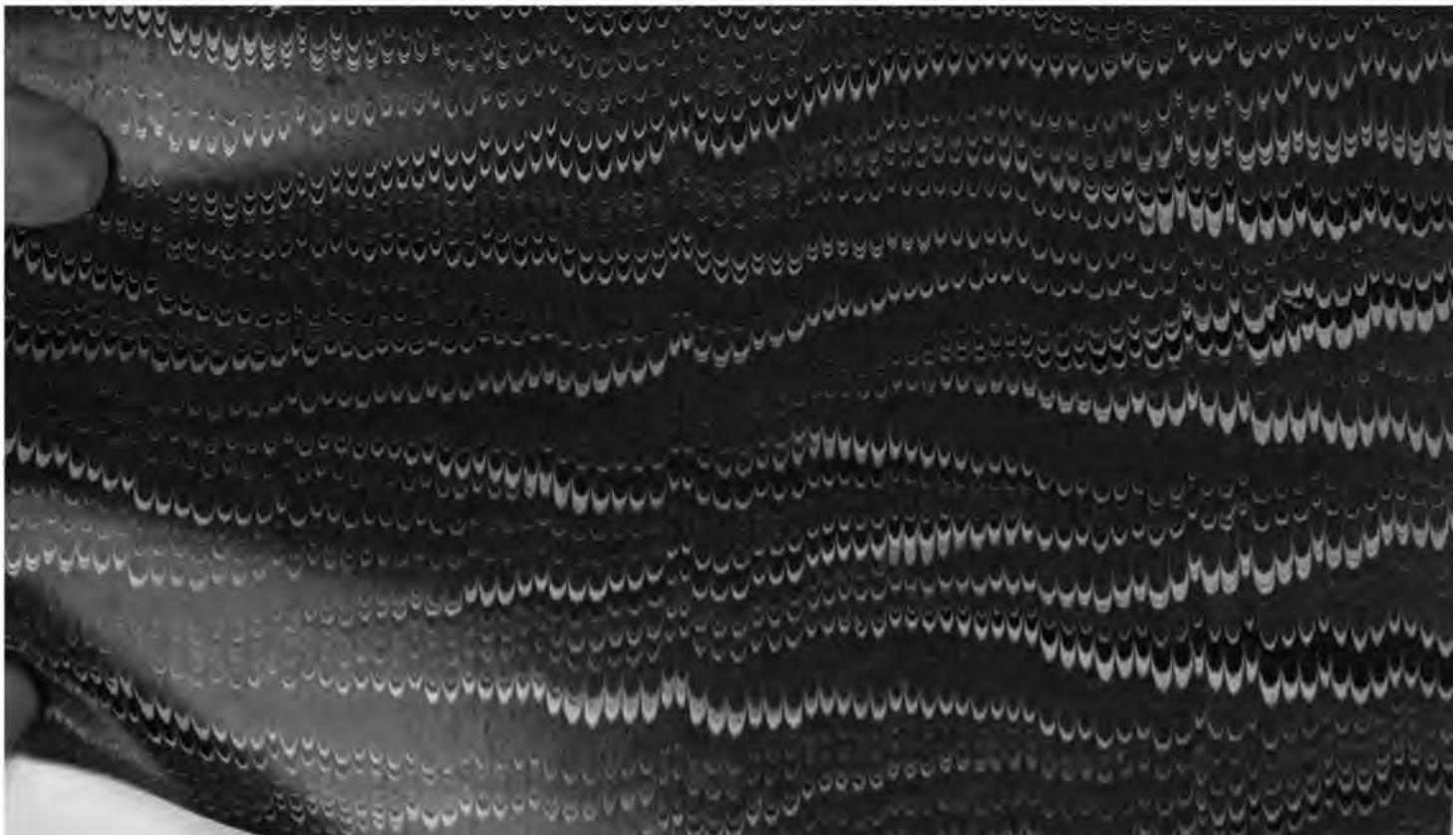
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of the Neceſſity of them. Our great Men have thought Things of this Kind below their Notice: There was more Fame and Credit to be got by writing for Men than Children, and therefore the latter have been ſtrangely neglected.

As the Courſe of Life I have been engaged in has obliged me to turn my Thoughts this Way, I have ſome Time ago publiſhed my Notions as to this Matter in a little Treatiſe, entitled, An Eſſay upon the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools, *wherein the Uſefulneſs and Neceſſity of Literal Tranſlations of the eaſier Authors of the Latin Tongue, for the Uſe of Beginners, is pretty fully treated of. A ſmall Share of Senſe and Converſation might, in my Opinion, be ſufficient to convince any one of that Uſefulneſs and Neceſſity; but if the Reader wants Satisfaction, I muſt refer him to that Treatiſe; for I care not to give myſelf the Trouble of repeating over again what I have there ſaid. The Caſe is ſo very plain, and the Practice of our Schools ſo very abſurd, that whatever Men may think now, I am of Opinion, Poſterity, when the World is grown wiſer with Reſpect to the Buſineſs of Education (if we may ſuppoſe any Memory of the preſent Method may be conveyed to future Generations) will be a little ſurprized at the Weakneſs of their Forefathers. And if Foreigners have in this Caſe no better Management amongſt them than we have, the Want of Care and Thought in a Matter of ſuch vaſt Importance, as the Education of Youth undoubtedly is, is a Reproach to the Age we live in, and will, ere long, be thought ſo, whatever ſome inconſiderate People may now judge of the Matter.*

The following Tranſlation of Cornelius Nepos *is almoſt every where literal, and therefore the Reader is not to expect the Language of it ſhould be very ſmooth or polite. All, that know any Thing of the Latin Tongue, know how widely the Diction or Manner of Expreſſion in that Language, differs from that of our own; and how hard it is, in a Tranſlation from the Latin, to keep any Thing cloſe to the Letter of the Original, without being barbarous or unintelligible. My Engliſh is, I hope, neither unintelligible, nor abſolutely barbarous; but if it appears, here and there, ſomewhat aukward, ſtiff, or unfaſhionable, it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, without taking a Freedom utterly inconſiſtent with the Deſign.*

This Performance is, in the firſt Place, and principally, intended for ſuch Boys as are not able to read the Author at all without Help; and for ſuch, if I have been ſo happy as to acquit myſelf but tolerably well in it, I am ſure it will be very helpful, and ſave Abundance of Time that muſt otherwiſe be thrown away, in toſſing over the Leaves of a Dictionary, to little or no Purpoſe. The Notes are in Engliſh, becauſe otherwiſe they would have been wholly uſeleſs to thoſe for whoſe

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Benefit they were chiefly intended. I have oftentimes wondered at the Fancy of loading the eaſier Claſſicks with a vaſt Number of Latin Notes, where thoſe, that could read the Author at all, would but ſeldom want Help, and thoſe, that could not, would be able to read the Notes no more than the Text. Though this be as plain as any Thing can be, yet the Jeſt of writing Latin Notes for Beginners has been carried ſo far, that a learned Iriſhman *has muffled up poor* Eraſmus *in his* Colloquies *with a large cumberſome Dreſs of this Kind. The ſame Gentleman will, perhaps, do as much in Time for* Eſop *and* Cordery; *nay, he ſeems to lie under ſome Obligation to it, if he will go through ſtitch with his Work, and render his Method of Education complete.*

2. *This Book is deſigned likewiſe for the Uſe of ſuch, as, having got a pretty good Inſight into the Latin Tongue at School, but through Diſuſe have forgot it, are deſirous to recover it again; which may be done with a great deal of Eaſe, by the Help of this, and ſome other Claſſick Authors, to be publiſhed in the ſame Manner. One Hour or two employed that Way every Day for a Year together, will bring ſuch to read Proſe with Eaſe and Pleaſure; after which the Poets will not be difficult for them to underſtand by the Help of ſuch Notes as they are publiſhed with. So that I am not wholly without Hopes, I may have done a Piece of acceptable Service to ſuch Gentlemen, as are deſirous to regain the Skill they had acquired in the Latin Tongue at School, but have ſince loſt it. Few grown People will ever have the Patience to hammer out ſuch a Language as the Latin, by the Help of a Dictionary, that would require more Time than any one in ten thouſand either can or will ſpare: But in this Way of proceeding, the Regaining the Latin Tongue will be but a new Kind of Diverſion the World has been hitherto unacquainted with. The Time, they need to employ that Way, is leſs than thoſe, who are the moſt taken up with Buſineſs, uſually ſpend upon their Pleaſures. If ſuch therefore ſhall think fit to encourage this Way of publiſhing the Claſſicks, I ſhall, if God give me Life and Health, take Care to ſupply them with ſuch as are moſt proper for their Purpoſe, with all convenient Speed.*

3. *The Book is not only deſigned for the lower Forms in a School, to bring them readily and eaſily to the Reading of the Latin Proſe Authors, but likewiſe for the higher Forms, and ſuch as can read them pretty well, without any ſuch Help, as well to bring them to a more compleat and perfect Acquaintance with them in the moſt expeditious Manner, as likewiſe to an Imitation of their Style, by rendering the Tranſlation into the Original Latin of the Author. And indeed, I do not think there is any other Way to bring Boys at School to any Thing*

Thing of a tolerable Latin Style, but this. Conſtant Converſation, with a little Help from Grammar, is, in my Judgment, the beſt and moſt eaſy Method of attaining to a ready and proper Uſe of any Foreign Language. For very little can be done in the Way of Converſation at School. For to confine the Boys to the Talking of Latin amongſt themſelves, before they know any Thing almoſt of the Language, is ridiculous, and the moſt effectual Means, that could poſſibly be thought of, to prevent their ever ſpeaking or writing it, with any tolerable Exactneſs and Propriety: The Speaking of a Language, any one has learned to ſpeak pretty well, is the Way to be ſure to retain it, as likewiſe to uſe it with greater Fluency and Freedom; but that is not what we are here enquiring after, but a Method of attaining a tolerable Propriety in the writing and ſpeaking of Latin. This I never yet knew done, ſo much as in one ſingle Inſtance, in any School, that has come within the Reach of my Knowledge, or indeed any Thing like it. Nay, I have talked with very ingenious Men, and good Judges, becauſe Perſons of conſiderable Experience in that Way, who looked upon the bringing up of Boys at School to a true Latin Style wholly impracticable. Though I will not ſay ſo, yet it is certainly a Matter of very great Difficulty, and I queſtion very much, whether any Method that can be taken with them, will be found generally ſucceſsful, or in any reaſonable Time, beſides this I here recommend. All the Grammar, indeed, neceſſary for the Purpoſe, may eaſily be taught them; but when that is done, the Main of the Difficulty is ſtill behind, as every one is ſenſible, that knows any Thing of the Latin Tongue. A ready Uſe of proper Terms, or of proper Phraſes or Forms of Expreſſion upon all Occaſions, ſeems hardly attainable in any reaſonable Time, or the longeſt Term of the Continuance of Boys at Grammar Schools, but in the Method I propoſe. Literal Tranſlations they are to begin with, and after they have gone through four or five Authors, in the Method of rendering Tranſlations into the very original Latin of the Authors, they are to be advanced to Tranſlations of greater Freedom, wherein the Propriety, Elegance, and Beauty of their Engliſh Tongue, is kept to with the ſtricteſt Regard. This Method of Proceeding is next to Converſation, and has, in one Reſpect, the Advantage of it; becauſe they will thus be ſupplied with better Latin for their Engliſh, as oft as they want it, than any, even the greateſt Maſters of the Latin Tongue, could pretend to furniſh them with in the Way of Converſation. And though I may, I believe, without Vanity, pretend to underſtand the Latin Tongue, as well as a great many of my Profeſſion, yet I am not aſhamed to own, that I expect to receive a great deal of Benefit myſelf, from this Way of uſing the Books I propoſe to publiſh accord-

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ing to the preſent Model. It is certainly the moſt ready, expeditious Method that can be taken at School, to furniſh the Mind with a Plenty of Words and a Variety of Phraſes and Expreſſions for the ſame Senſe: And that without any Danger of Error, which the Uſe of Dictionaries and Phraſe Books would be attended with: For none indeed can receive any great Benefit from them, for the writing of Latin but ſuch as are good Judges in the Language, and are well acquainted with the Idiom thereof already.

4. *The Claſſicks publiſhed in this Method will likewiſe be of great Uſe to ſuch Foreigners, as underſtand Latin, and have a Mind to learn the Engliſh Tongue.*

I would not have the Reader miſtake my recommending the Uſe of literal Tranſlations of the Claſſick Authours, for the ſeveral Purpoſes above mentioned, as a Commendation of my preſent Performance. It was never ſo intended by me in the leaſt. It may be very true, that the Claſſicks, literally tranſlated by a ſkilful Hand, may be highly uſeful upon all thoſe Accounts; and yet as true that I am not equal to ſuch an Undertaking. Whether I am or not muſt be left to the Judgment of the Learned, by whoſe Verdict I am content the Matter ſhould be determined. But I am ſomewhat ſuſpicious the Unlearned will be the moſt forward to cenſure: And perhaps a pert Undergraduate will be able to find more Faults in a ſingle Life, than his Tutor in them all put together. But I am very little concerned about the Cenſure of ſuch Sort of Worthies. The Eſteem of Men of true Learning, Virtue, and Candour, I ſhall ever value above every Thing, but thoſe noble Qualifications themſelves; for the Sneers and Reflections of ſuch as may be deſtitute of them, I deſpiſe them juſt as much as I value the former.

I muſt deſire my Reader to take Notice, that ſuch Words as I found neceſſary or convenient to inſert in the Tranſlation, either to render the Senſe more clear, or the Engliſh ſmooth, and have none to anſwer them in the Original, are in a different Character.

If any one, otherwiſe ſatisfied with my Performance, but prejudiced againſt this Method of proceeding with Boys, (for there are unaccountable People in the World) will but pleaſe to make Trial of it for one Half Year, in which Time, at the worſt, it can do no great Harm; if ſuch a one does not find his Account in it very much to his own Satisfaction, he has my Conſent to think and ſpeak of me as hardly as he pleaſes, and the Nature of the Thing will juſtify: Let me paſs with him for a Fool, who have given myſelf a great deal of Pains to no Purpoſe; I neither expect nor deſire any Quarter. But if a Boy ſhould be found to go effectually and ſucceſsfully through the whole Book, in this Method, in leſs Time, than without the Help

here provided for him, he could poſſibly read a fourth Part of it, (to ſpeak within Compaſs) I hope I may then be thought to deſerve Thanks for what I have already done, and Encouragement for what I further deſign in the ſame Method.

I have prefix'd to the Lives Gerard Voſſius's *Acccount of our Author. As I do not deſign it for the Reading of Boys at School by the Way of Leſſon, but to gratify the Curioſity of ſuch as may be deſirous to know ſomething of the Life and Character of the Author they read, many of whom may not be able to underſtand the Latin of* Voſſius, *I have tranſlated it with more Freedom than I was at Liberty to take with* Cornelius Nepos. *I ſhall in Time, if I meet with Encouragement, publiſh a Claſſick Author or two, with Tranſlations of the like Kind with this of* Nepos's *Life.*

GER.

GER. JOANNES VOSSIUS,

DE

CORNELIO NEPOTE.

Cornelius Nepos & ante Cæſaris dictaturam, & eo dictatore, & poſtea, vixit. Hieronymus in Chronico Euſebiano refert illum ad annum Auguſti quartum. Nec cuiquam repugnem, colligenti inde tum demum divulgare ea cœpiſſe opera, quibus maximè inclaruit. Padi erat accola, teſte Plinio lib. iii. *cap.* xviii. *unde Catullo epigrammate primo, Italus; Auſonio autem epiſt.* xxiv. *Gallus vocatur: nempe quia Italia Tranſpadano diceretur Gallia Togata. De urbe aut patria quicquam ſe habere comperti, negat Elias Vinetus, in Auſon. Idyll.* vii. *At Veronenſem fuiſſe, in Leandri Alberti Italiâ lego: uti & in Coſmographiâ optimi atque amiciſſimi quondam viri, Pauli Merulæ. Imò ex Veronenſium hiſtoricorum ſylloge (quem doctiſſimus ampliſſimuſque Alexander Becellus, Veronenſis Urbis Cancellarius, fecit, ac illuſtriſſimus Comes, Fernandus Nogarola, vir ut genere, ita literarum*

GERARD VOSSIUS'S LIFE

OF

CORNELIUS NEPOS.

Cornelius Nepos lived before and under the Dictatorſhip of Ceſar, and after it too. Jerom in Euſebius's Chronicle places him under the fourth Year of Auguſtus's Reign. Nor ſhall I much diſpute with any one, that may from thence pretend to infer, that he began at that Time to publiſh the Works, he was afterwards ſo very famous for. He lived nigh the Po, as appears from Pliny, B. 3. ch. 18. For which Reaſon he is called by Catullus, in his firſt Epigram, an Italian; and by Auſonius, in his 24th Epiſtle, a Gaul, becauſe that Part of Italy beyond the Po was called Gallia Togata. Elias Vinetus, upon the 7th Idyllium of Auſonius, tells us, he was never able to make any Diſcovery as to the Place of his Nativity. But I find in Leander Albertus's Account of Italy, that he was a Native of Verona, as likewiſe in the Coſmography of that very worthy Gentleman, and formerly my very good Friend, Paul Merula Nay, I further perceive, from a Collection of the Hiſtorians of Verona, (which that

literarum ſtudio nobliſſimus, cum v. cl. Laurentio Pignorio, atque is mecum communicavit, intelligo, natum fuiſſe Nepotem in Hoſtiliâ; qui Veronenſium vicus eſt, Tacito, Plinio, Caſſiodoro, & Antonino in Itinerario memoratus, hodieque Eccleſiaſticæ Veronenſium juriſdictioni ſubditus. Hiſtoricus hic Ciceronis amicus familiaris à Gellio vocatur, lib. xv. *cap.* 28. *Chronica ſcripſiſſe, teſtis & idem Gellius, lib.* xxvi. *cap.* xxi. *In his, pro triplici tempore, ἀδήλῳ, μυθικῷ καὶ ἱστορικῷ, (de quibus ex Varrone, & aliis, libro de arte hiſtoricâ diximus) tres videtur ſcripſiſſe libros; ac ſingulis unius temporis narrationem eſſe complexus. Sanè tres libros feciſſe Nepotem, quibus omne ævum comprehenderit, liquidò teſtatur Catullus initio Hendecaſyllaborum. Nec hiſtoricum tempus ab eo ſolùm eſſe tractatum, indicio eſt illud Auſonii:* Apologos Titiani, & Nepotis Chronica, quaſi alios apologos (nam & ipſa inſtar fabularum ſunt) ad nobilitatem tuam miſi: *Item ex eo, quod Tertullianus in Apologetico adverſus gentes (ubi eum inter antiquitatum commentatores diſertim reponit) dicit, haud aliud Saturnum, quàm hominem, promulgâſſe: Quod etiam Lactantius tradit, lib.* i. *cap.* xiii. *Reliquit præterea libros illuſtrium virorum, quarum Gellius*

very learned and honourable Perſon Alexander Becellus, Chancellor of Verona, made, and the moſt illuſtrious Count Fernand Nogarola, a Gentleman as conſiderable for his Learning as Quality, communicated to the famous Laurentius Pignorius, from whom I had the Favour of a Sight of it; I perceive, (I ſay) that Nepos was born in Hoſtilia, which is a Village in the Territory of Verona, mentioned by Tacitus, Pliny, Caſſiodorus, and Antoninus in his Itinerary, and is at this Day ſubject to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of Verona. Our Hiſtorian is called by Gellius, B. 15. ch. 28. an intimate Friend of Cicero, and that he wrote a Chronicle, we have the Teſtimony of the ſame Gellius, B. 26. chap. 21. And agreeably to that triple Diviſion of Time into Uncertain, Fabulous, and Hiſtorical, (of which I have given an Account out of Varro and others, in my Treatiſe of the Art of writing Hiſtory) he ſeems to have divided it into three Books, and, in each of theſe, to have compriſed a Narrative of each reſpective Time. For, that Nepos wrote three Books, in which he comprehended the whole Series of Time, Catullus, in the Beginning of his Hendecaſyllaba, declares in expreſs Terms; and that the hiſtorical Time was not the ſole Subject of his Chronicle appears pretty plainly, from this Paſſage in Auſonius: *I have ſent to your Highneſs the Apologues of Titian, and*

Nepos's

lius meminit, lib. xi. *cap.* viii. *& Servius in* 1 *Æn. Eorum librum* i. xv. *&* xvi. *citat Charisius. Ex his habemus viginti duos exterarum gentium imperatores. Cæteris libris egisse de Romanis hæc ejus verba ostendunt in extremâ Hannibalis vitâ:* Sed nos tempus est hujus libri facere finem, & Romanorum explicare imperatores; quo facilius, collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri præferendi sint, possit judicari. *Operis ejus genuina inscriptio patet ex ultimis hisce præfationis verbis*; Quare ad propositum veniemus, & in hoc exponemus libro Vitas Excellentium Imperatorum. *Præter Imperatores seorsum exarâsse librum de Regibus, argumenta hæc erunt, quæ Timoleontis, vitæ subdit:* Hi fere fuere Græciæ gentis duces, qui memoriâ digni videantur, præter reges; namque eos attingere noluimus, quod omnium res gestæ separatim sunt relatæ: Neque tamen hi admodum sunt multi. *Externi imperatores, quos habemus, Æmilii esse Probi, à multis creduntur. Qui error inde provenit, quòd librario id fuerit nomen, qui vitas eas partim suâ partim patris & matris manu scriptas, Theodosio obtulit. Hoc ita esse, ostendunt versiculi, qui vitis istis præmitti in MSS. solent*

Ac

Nepos's Chronicle, as containing another Set of Apologues (for they are indeed no better than Fables) as likewise from what Tertullian in his Apology against the Gentiles (when he expressly reckons him amongst the Writers of Antiquities) says, that he made Saturn to be no more than a Man. Which Account Lactantius likewise gives of him, B. 1. ch. 13. He left besides the Lives of several illustrious Men, which Gellius makes mention of, B. 11. ch. 8. and Servius on the first Æneid. Charisius quotes the 1st, 15th, and 16th Book; of these we have 22 Commanders of Foreign Nations. And that in his other Books he treated of the Romans, these Words of his in the latter End of Hannibal's Life sufficiently shew: *But it is now Time for us to put an End to this Book, and give you the Lives of the Roman Commanders, that, by comparing the Actions of both, the Readers may judge which ought to have the Preference.* The proper Title to this Work appears plainly from these concluding Words in his Preface: *Wherefore we shall now proceed to the Execution of our Design, and in this Book give an Account of the Lives of the excellent Commanders.* That he wrote the Lives of several Kings, besides these Commanders, is plain from the Words following the Life of Timoleon: *These were in a manner all the Greek Commanders worth our Notice, besides Kings; for we had no Design of medaling with*

Ac ne Æmilium, nec Theodoſiani ævi quenquam, eorum eſſe librorum auctorem, abunde arguit pura & Romana dictio. Opinetur aliquis, ut Trogus ab Juſtino, ita ab Æmilio, qui ſub Theodoſio vixit, in compendium eſſe redactum Nepotem: Sed aliud ſuadet operis concinnitas, & illa præfandi ratio, quæ eſt in Epaminondæ vitâ, ac in Pelopidâ imprimis, ubi brevitatem juſtam pollicetur. Attamen ſententia hæc, licet erronea, minus periculi habeat, dummodo extra controverſiam maneat, Æmilium omnia de puriſſimis Nepotis fontibus hauſiſſe. Sane Tulliani eſſe ævi ſcriptorem, neq; alium quàm Nepotem; tum veterum aliquot librorum indicio cognoſcitur; tum etiam, quod ad Pomponium Atticum (cujus idem rogatu de vitâ Catonis librum fecit) vitæ iſtæ ſcribantur: utcunque id in quarto miſcellaneorum ſuorum neget Hieronymus Magius; qui ipſâ Nepotis præfatione ſatis refellitur. Accedit & altera ratio. Nam his in libris ea legere eſt, quæ opus hoc ſcriptum eſſe clamant, quo tempore Pompeius & Cæſar plus poterant, quam liberè in Rep. expediret. Ea Lambinus loca congeſſit, ut nihil attineat illa hic reponere. Nec libris iſtis de viris illuſtribus ſolum perſecutus eſt excellentes

with them, having already written their Lives by themſelves: And they are not indeed many in Number. The Foreign Commanders, we have, are thought by many to be the Work of Æmilius Probus. The Occaſion of which Miſtake was, that the Librarian was ſo called, who preſented the Emperor Theodoſius with theſe Lives, written in Part by himſelf, and Part by his Father and Mother: That this is ſo, is evident from the Verſes, which in the Manuſcript Copies are uſually prefixed to theſe Lives. But the Purity of the Diction, which is truly Roman, ſufficiently proves, that neither their Æmilius, nor any one elſe in the Days of Theodoſius, was the Author of theſe Books. Some perhaps may think, that as Trogus was abridged by Juſtin, ſo was Nepos too by this Æmilius, who lived in the Times of Theodoſius: But the Neatneſs of the Work, and what he ſays in entering upon the Life of Epaminondas, and that of Pelopidas eſpecially, where he promiſes to be conciſe, will not allow us to think ſo. But however, this Opinion, though erroneous, is of no dangerous Conſequence, ſo long as it is beyond all Diſpute, that Æmilius took every Thing from Nepos. And indeed, that the Writer was contemporary with Tully, and no other than Nepos, appears ſufficiently, as well from the Teſtimony of ſome old Authors, as the Dedication of the Work to Pomponius Atticus, at whoſe Requeſt

lentes imperatores: ſed etiam commentationibus claros. Quod argumentum ſignat. Hieronymus, præfatione de ſcriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis, ubi Nepotem inter eos refert, quorum exemplo acturus ſit de iis, qui ſcribendo claruerunt. Egit autem Nepos, tum de Græcis auctoribus; tum de Latinis. De Græcis, colligo inde, quòd in Dionis vitâ dicat, librum ſe feciſſe de illuſtribus hiſtoricis: in quo inter alia tractârit de Philiſto hiſtorico. De Latinis, argumento ſunt plurima. Nam de Terentio egiſſe, ex Suetonio ſcimus in Terentii vitâ, Donato perperam tributâ. Adhæc primum de vitâ Ciceronis librum Gellius citat lib. XV. *cap.* XXVIII. *Eoque ex opere fragmentum Hieronymus adfert epiſt. ad Pammachium. Imo veriſimile eſt, inde eſſe, tum vitam T. Pomponii Attici, quæ exſtat, tum vitam Catonis, quam iſtis claudit verbis:* Hujus de vitâ, & moribus, plura in eo libro perſecuti ſumus, quem ſeparatim de eo fecimus, rogatu Titi Pomponii Attici, Quare ſtudioſos Catonis ad illud volumen relegamus: *Apertè indicat, eò nunc de Catone brevius ſe agere, quia ſeparatim de eodem ſcripſerit. Ego vita illa Catonis, quam paucis perſtrictam habemus, majoris*

queſt the ſame Perſon wrote the Life of Cato, notwithſtanding Hieronymus Magius denies it in the 4th Book of his Miſcellanies, who is ſufficiently confuted by the very Preface of Nepos. We have likewiſe another Proof of it: For ſeveral Paſſages in the Book moſt plainly evince, that it was written at the Time when the Power of Pompey and Ceſar was grown to a Height dangerous to the public Liberty. Lambinus has collected the Paſſages to that Purpoſe, and therefore I need not produce them here. Nor in his Lives of Illuſtrious Men did he confine himſelf to ſuch alone as excelled in the Military Way; but likewiſe took in thoſe that had rendered themſelves famous by their Writings, as appears from Jerom's Preface to his Account of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, where he reckons Nepos among the Precedents he ſhould follow in his Account of ſuch as had been famous for Writing. Nepos treated as well of the Greek as the Latin Authors. As to the Greek, I go upon what he ſays in the Life of Dion, where he tells us he had written a Book of the moſt conſiderable Hiſtorians, in which, amongſt others, he had given an Account of Philiſtus the Hiſtorian. As to the Latin Authors, it is many Ways evident: For we learn from Suetonius's Life of Terence, falſely aſcribed to Donatus, that he had given an Account of that Author. Gellius too quotes the firſt Book of the Life of Cicero, in the 28th

ch.

rii pars eſt voluminis, in quo Romanorum complurium vitæ continerentur. Et ſanè in antiquiſſimo codice Oberti Giſanii ante vitam Attici legebantur hæc verba: Ex libro Cornelii Nepotis de Latinis hiſtoricis. *Reliquit etiam Exemplorum libros, quos citant Gellius, lib* vii. *cap.* 18. *& Chariſius, lib.* i. *Alia quoque ejuſdem laudant vetuſtiores, ſed non item quæ ad hiſtoriam pertineant. Nam ex epiſtolâ ejus ad Ciceronem quædam Lactantius affert, lib.* iii. *Inſtit. Divin. cap.* 15. *Quemadmodum & Ciceronis ad Nepotem epiſtolæ meminit Tranquillus in Julio, cap.* lv. *Ammianus Marcellinus initio libri* xxv. *ac Priſcianus lib.* viii. *Imò & ſecundum Ciceronis epiſtolarum librum ad Nepotem Macrobius, citat lib.* ii. *Saturn. cap.* 1. *Quod ſi quis fragmenta omnia Nepotis deſideret, longè iis colligendis priorum vicit induſtriam Andreas Schottus. Hermolaus Barbarus, caſtigationibus in Plinii, lib.* xv. *cap.* xxix. *cenſet libellum de viris illuſtribus, qui Plinio tribui ſolet, Cornelii Nepotis eſſe haud Plinii, atque id veteribus codd. adſtrui poſſe aſſeverat. Etiam Jani hæc Parrhaſii ſententia fuit. Utrius ſit, dubitari ait Vinetus, nec eâ*

ch. of his 15th B. And Jerom, in his Epiſtle to Pammachius, produces a Quotation from that Work Nay, it is likely that the Life we have of T. Pomponius Atticus was taken from thence, as well as that of Cato, which he cloſes with theſe Words: *We have given a larger Account of his Life and Behaviour in that Book we publiſhed of him alone, which thoſe, that are deſirous to be more fully acquainted with Cato, may conſult, if they pleaſe.* He plainly declares the Reaſon, why the Account he there gives of Cato is ſo brief, to be his having publiſhed his Life by itſelf before. *Wherefore the ſhort Life of Cato we have is the Part of a bigger Volume, wherein were contained the Lives of ſeveral other Romans.* And indeed the following Words were read in a moſt ancient Book of Obertus Giſanius before the Life of Atticus: *From Cornelius Nepos's Book of the Latin Hiſtorians.* He left behind him likewiſe Books of Examples, which Gellius quotes, B. 7. ch. 18. and Chariſius, B. 1. The Ancients commend other Works of his too that were not hiſtorical. For Lactantius produces ſomething out of an Epiſtle of his to Cicero, in the 15th chap. of the 3d Book of his Divine Inſtitutions; as Tranquillus, in the 55th Chapter of Julius Ceſar's Life, makes mention of an Epiſtle of Cicero's to Nepos; as do likewiſe Ammianus Marcellinus in the Beginning of the 25th Book, and Priſcian, B. viii. Macrobius too, B. 2. ch. 1. of his Saturnalia, quotes

eâ de re ſtatuere quicquam auſus eſt. Imò aliqui, aut Suetonium, aut Tacitum eſſe auctorem putârunt: ut indicat. Gyraldus dialogiſmo xxvi. *Sed omnino ſunt Sexti Aurelii Victoris; ut ſatis nunc conſtat ex editione Andreæ Schotti. Non dubito interim, quin pleraque ex Nepote Victor deſumſerit. Nam quod Ludovicus Vives, lib.* v. de Tradendis Diſciplinis, *Nepotem ait de Græcis ſolum ducibus ſcripſiſſe; id ſatis refellitur verbis Nepotis antea adductis. Vir doctiſſimis, Jo. Maria Catanæus, commentario in Plinii librum* iv. *epiſt.* xxviii. *quæ ad Severum ſcripta eſt, etiam Daretem Phrygium à Nepote tranſlatum arbitratur. Nempe decepit eum vulgaris ἐπιγραφή. Attamen & hic aqua hæret Vineio, notis in Auſon. Idyll.* vii. *Negat eſſe, qui certi aliquid de tranſlatione hac auſit affirmare. Atqui omnes, quibus ullum in hiſce literis judicium eſt, ſatis vident, nec Daretem illum eſſe genuinum, nec dictionem ejus Auguſtæam ſapere ætatem; ſed recentiorem multò. Nepotem autem Cæſ. Auguſti obiiſſe ævo, Plinius teſtatur, lib.* ix. *cap.* xxxix. *Atque hoc fortaſſe impulit Genebrardum, ut putaret eum nato jam Chriſto ſuperſtitem fuiſſe: qui & Jacobum Gualterium cùm primùm*

quotes the 2d Book of Cicero's Epiſtles to Nepos. But if any one has a Fancy to ſee all the Fragments of Nepos, Andreas Schottus has in his Collection of them far exceeded the Induſtry of all that went before him. Hermolaus Barbarus, in his Emendations upon Pliny, B. 15. ch. 29. thinks that the Book of illuſtrious Men, which is uſually aſcribed to Pliny, is Cornelius Nepos's, and not Pliny's; and pretends to ſay, that the Thing may be proved from old Manuſcripts; which likewiſe was the Opinion of Janus Parrhaſias. Vinetus ſays, it is doubted which of them was the Author, and durſt not take upon him to determine the Point. Nay, ſome have been of Opinion, that Suetonius or Tacitus was the Author, as Gyraldus informs us in his 26th Dialogue; but it is certainly Sextus Aurelius Victor's, as is now ſufficiently manifeſt, from the Edition of Andreas Schottus. I doubt not however, but he borrowed moſt of what he had from Nepos. For what Ludovicus Vives ſays, in his 5th Book *De Tradendis Diſciplinis*, that Nepos wrote only of the Grecian Generals, is ſufficiently confuted by the Words of Nepos quoted above. A very learned Gentleman, John Maria of Catana, in his Commentary upon the 28th ch. of the 4th Book of Pliny's Epiſtles, which was written to Severus, ſays, that Dares Phrygius was tranſlated by Nepos. The vulgar Title, it ſeems, deceived him. Yet here again Vinetus is at a Loſs,

mùm tabulas ederet Chronographicas, in eam ſententiam pertraxit. Sed Nepotem eò uſque ætatem' prorogâſſe, nemo temerè dixerit, qui tanti eum in literis nominis, jam Tullii, Attici, Catulli temporibus, fuiſſe cogitârit.

and pretends to ſay, that whether that Tranſlation was Nepos's, or not, cannot with any Degree of Certainty be determined. But all that have any thing of Taſte in this Kind of Literature, ſee plainly, that Dares is a ſpurious Piece, and that the Style is nothing like that of the Age of Auguſtus; but is much later. But Pliny informs us, B. 9. ch. 39. that Nepos died in Auguſtus's Reign. And it was this perhaps made Genebrard think that Nepos was living at the Birth of Chriſt, who likewiſe drew over James Gualterius, when he firſt publiſhed his Chronological Tables, to his Opinion. But ſcarcely any one ſure will pretend to ſay, that Nepos lived till that Time, who conſiders, that he was a Perſon who made a conſiderable Figure for Learning in the Days of Tully, Atticus, and Catullus.

CORNELII NEPOTIS

Excellentium Imperatorum

VITÆ,

AD

T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM.

CORNELIUS NEPOS's

LIVES

OF THE

EXCELLENT COMMANDERS,

To T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS.

Auctoris PRÆFATIO.

NON dubito fore pleroſque, Attice, qui hoc genus ſcripturæ leve & non ſatis dignum ſummorum virorum perſonis judicent; quum relatum legent, quis muſicam docuerit Epaminondam; aut in ejus virtutibus commemorari, ſaltâſſe eum commode, ſcienterque tibiis cantâſſe. Sed hi erunt ferè, qui expertes literarum Græcarum, nihil rectum, niſi quod ipſorum moribui conveniat, putabunt. Hi ſi didicerint, non eadem omnibus honeſta atq; turpia, ſed omnia majorum inſtitutis judicari; non admirabuntur, nos in Graiorum virtutibus

The Author's PREFACE.

I Doubt not there will be a great many, Atticus, who will judge this Way of Writing too *light, and not ſufficiently adapted to the Characters of* theſe *great Perſons, when they find it related, who taught Epaminondas Muſick, or reckoned among his Qualities, that he danced handſomely, and played well upon the Flute. But theſe will be generally ſuch, as being unacquainted with the Greek Language, will think nothing right but what is agreeable to their own Faſhions. If theſe People underſtood* once, *that the ſame things are not honourable and ſcandalous with all People; but that all Things are judged*

bus exponendis mores eorum ſecutos. Neque enim Cimoni fuit turpe, Athenienſium ſummo viro ſorórem germanam habere in matrimonio; quippe quum cives ejus eodem uterentur inſtituto: at id quidem noſtris moribus nefas habetur. Laudi in Græcia ducitur adoleſcentulis quam plurimos habere amatores. Nulla Lacedæmoni tam eſt nobilis vidua, quæ non ad ſcenam eat mercede conducta. Magnis in laudibus tota fuit Græcia, victorem Olympiæ citari. In ſcenam vero prodire, & populo eſſe ſpectaculo, nemini in eiſdem gentibus fuit turpitudini. Quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atq; ab honeſtate remota ponuntur. Contra ea, pleraque noſtris moribus ſunt decora, quæ apud illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? aut cujus materfamilias non primum locum tenet ædium, atque in celebritate verſatur? Quod multo fit aliter in Græciâ; nam neque in convivium adhibetur niſi propinquorum; neq; ſedet

*of by the Uſages of our Foreſathers; they will not wonder that we, in relating the noble Qualifications of the Greeks, have followed their Faſhions. For it was not ſcandalous in Cimon, a very great Man among ſt the Athenians, to have his * own Siſter in Marriage, becauſe his Countrymen uſed the ſame Cuſtom: But that is accounted unlawful, according to our Uſage. It is reckoned a* mighty *Commendation in Greece for young Men to have a great many Lovers. There is no Widow ſo noble at Lacedæmon, that will not go upon the Stage, if hired with a valuable Conſideration. It was reckoned among ſt the greateſt Glories to be proclaimed a Conquerór at † Olympia; but to appear upon the Stage, and to be a Spectacle to the People, was a Scandal to nobody in the ſame Nations. All which Things are reckoned with us partly infamous, partly mean, and far from honourable. On the other hand, a great many Things in our Cuſtoms are decent, which are thought ſcandalous among ſt them. For which of the Romans is aſhamed to bring his Wife to a Feaſt? Or whoſe Wife has not the firſt Room*

* That is, by the ſame Father, but not the ſame Mother, as appears from our Author himſelf, in the Life of Cimon.

† Olympia is a Town of Elis, in the Weſt Parts of Peloponneſus, famous for the Games celebrated there every four Years, by a great Concourſe of People from all the Parts of Greece, and other Places; and the Perſons victorious therein were received, upon their Return into their own Country, with the greateſt Honours. Theſe Games were inſtituted in the Year before Chriſt 776.

ſedet niſi interiore parte ædium, que γυναικωνίτις appellatur: quò nemo accedit, niſi propinquâ cognatione conjunctus. Sed plura perſequi tum magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum feſtinatio, ut ea explicem quæ exorſus ſum. Quare ad propoſitum veniemus, & in hoc exponemus libro vitas excellentium imperatorum.

Room in the Houſe, and converſes with Company? Which is quite otherwiſe in Greece; for ſhe is neither admitted to a Feaſt, unleſs of Relations; nor ſits but in the inner Part of the Houſe, which is called the Womens Apartment, whither nobody comes, unleſs allied to her by near Relation. But both the Smallneſs of the intended *Volume, and alſo the Haſte* I am in *to relate the Things I have undertaken, permit me not to ſay more* to this Point. *Wherefore we ſhall come to our Purpoſe, and relate in this Book the Lives of the excellent Commanders.*



I. *MILTIADES,*

I.

MILTIADES, Cimonis *Filius, Athenienſis.*

CAP. I.

MILTIADES, Cimonis filius Athenienſis, quum & antiquitate generis, & gloriâ majorum, & ſuâ modeſtiâ, unus omnium maxime floreret; eâque eſſet ætate, ut non jam ſolum de eo benè ſperare, ſed etiam confidere cives poſſent ſui, talem futurum qualem cognitum judicarunt; accidit ut Athenienſes Cherſoneſum colonos vellent mittere. Cujus generis quum magnus numerus eſſet, & multi ejus demi grationis peterent ſocietatem: ex his delecti Delphos * deliberatum miſſi ſunt, qui

I.

MILTIADES, the Son of Cimon, *the Athenian.*

CHAP. I.

WHEN Miltiades the Son of Cimon the Athenian, made of all others the greateſt Figure, both for the Antiquity of his Family, and the Glory of his Anceſtors, and his own Modeſty; and was of that Age, that his Countrymen might now not only hope well of him, but even aſſure themſelves, he would be ſuch an one as they judged him upon Trial; it happened that the Athenians had a Mind to ſend a Colony to the † Cherſoneſe. Of which Kind of People, *as there was a great Number, and many deſired a Share in this Expedition, ſome choſen*

* The Word *deliberatum* being taken here in an uncommon Senſe, thoſe that follow, *viz. qui conſulerent Apollinem*, ſeem to have been put in the Margin by ſomebody to explain the Meaning of *deliberatum*, and thence, through the Heedleſſneſs of ſome Copiers of Books, to have crept into the Text; for without this Suppoſition, it will be hard, I doubt, to excuſe our Author from being guilty of an inſipid Tautology.

† Cherſoneſe is a Word originally Greek, ſignifying the ſame with *Peninſula* in *Latin*; that is, a Place almoſt ſurrounded with Water. The Cherſoneſe here meant was a Part of Thrace, lying along the Helleſpont.

qui conſulerent Apollinem, quo potiſſimùm duce uterentur. Nam tum Thraces eas regiones tenebant, cum quibus armis erat dimicandum. His conſulentibus nominatim Pythia præcepit, ut Miltiadem ſibi imperatorem ſumerent: Id ſi feciſſent, incepta proſpera futura. Hoc oraculi reſponſo, Miltiades, cum delectâ manu, claſſe Cherſoneſum profectus, cum acceſſiſſet Lemnum, & incolas ejus inſulæ ſub poteſtatem redigere vellet Athenienſium, idque ut Lemni ſuâ ſponte facerent, poſtulâſſet; illi irridentes reſponderunt, Tum id ſe facturos, quum ille, domo navibus proficiſcens, vento Aquilone veniſſet Lemnum: hic enim ventus à ſeptentrionibus oriens, adverſum tenet Athenis proficiſcentibus. Miltiades, morandi tempus non habens, curſum direxit quò tendebat,

choſen from amongſt them, were ſent to conſult the * *Oracle, what Leader they ſhould above others make uſe of. For the Thracians, at that Time, had Poſſeſſion of thoſe Parts, with whom they were to fight* for it *with Arms. The Pythoneſs did expreſsly order thoſe that conſulted her, to take Miltiades to them* as *their Commander: If they did that, their Undertakings would be ſucceſsful. Upon this Anſwer of the Oracle, Miltiades, with a choice Body* of Men, *going for the Cherſoneſe with a Fleet, after he was come up to* † *Lemnus, and deſirous to reduce the Inhabitants of that Iſland under the Power of the Athenians, had demanded, that the Lemnians would do that of their own Accord; they bantering* him *replied, That they would then do it, when he, coming by Ship from home, ſhould arrive at Lemnus with the Wind* called *Aquilo. For this Wind ariſing from the North is full againſt thoſe that come*

* The Oracles, of which ſuch frequent Mention is made in the Writings of the Ancients, were Anſwers given in the Temples of their Gods, to Queries about future Events, by the Prieſt, or ſometimes by a Prieſteſs, as here, and commonly in Verſe. Though theſe in the Main were nothing but pure Impoſture, carried on by the Roguery of the Prieſts, in the Name of the Gods; yet there are ſome Anſwers upon Record ſo very ſurpriſing, as give Ground to ſuſpect, that Evil Spirits were ſuffered ſometimes to interpoſe. The Greeks ſcarcely ever undertook any Buſineſs of Importance, without conſulting their Oracle at Delphos, which was famous even in foreign Countries. Delphos was a Town in Achaia, not far from the Corinthian Bay.

† Lemnus is an Iſland in the North Parts of the Ægean Sea.

bat, pervenitque Cherſoneſum.

CAP. II. Ibi brevi tempore, Barbarorum copiis disjectis, totâ regione, quam petierat, potitus, loca caſtellis idonea communivit: multitudinem, quam ſecum duxerat, in agris collocavit, crebriſque excurſionibus locupletavit. Neque minùs in eâ re prudentiâ quàm felicitate, adjutus eſt: nam quum virtute militum deviciſſet hoſtium exercitus, ſummâ æquitate res conſtituit; atque ipſe ibidem manere decrevit. Erat enim inter eos dignitate regiâ, quamvis carebat nomine: neq; id majus imperio quàm juſtitiâ conſecutus. Neque eo ſeciùs Athenienſibus, à quibus erat profectus, officia præſtabat. Quibus rebus fiebat, ut non minùs eorum voluntate perpetuo imperium obtineret, qui miſerant, quam illorum cum quibus erat profectus. Cherſoneſo tali modo conſtituta, Lemnum revertitur: & ex pacto, poſtulat, ut ſibi urbem tradant: Illi enim dixerant, quum vento Boreâ domo profectus, eò perveniſſet, ſeſe dedituros; ſe autem domum Cherſoneſi habere. Cares, qui tum Lemnum incolebant, etſi præter opinionem res ceciderat, tamen non dicto, ſed ſecundâ fortuna adverſariorum capti, reſiſtere auſi non ſunt,

come from Athens. Miltiades, having no Time to ſtay, ſteered on his Courſe to the Place he was bound for, and came to the Cherſoneſe.

CHAP. II. *There, in a ſhort Time, the Forces of the Barbarians being routed, having made himſelf Maſter of all the Country he went for, he fortified Places proper for Caſtles; ſettled the People which he had carried along with him, in the Lands, and enriched them by frequent Excurſions. Nor was he leſs aſſiſted in that Matter by good Conduct, than good Fortune: For after he had, by the Bravery of his Soldiers, routed the Enemy's Armies, he ſettled Affairs with the greateſt Equity, and reſolved to continue in the ſame Place himſelf. For he was amongſt them* inveſted *with Regal Authority, though he wanted the Name. Nor did he compaſs that more by his Command* in this Expedition, *than his Juſtice. Nor did he the leſs perform all Offices* of due Subjection *to the Athenians from whom he had gone. By which means it came to paſs, that he held the Government without Intermiſſion, no leſs by the Conſent of thoſe who had ſent him, than of thoſe with whom he had gone. Having thus ſettled the Cherſoneſe, he returns to Lemnus, and demands, according to their Promiſe, that they ſhould ſurrender up the City to him: For they had ſaid, that when coming from Home with a North Wind, he arrived there, they would ſurrender; but that he now had his Home*

at

ſunt, atque ex inſulâ demigrârunt. Pari felicitate cæteras inſulas, quæ Cyclades nominantur, ſub Athenienſium redegit poteſtatem.

*at the Cherſoneſe. The * Carians, who at that Time inhabited Lemnus, although the Buſineſs had happened contrary to their Expectation, yet being not moved by their Promiſe, but the good Fortune of their Adverſaries, durſt not reſiſt, and removed out of the Iſland. With the like good Fortune he reduced the other Iſlands, which are called Cyclades, under the Power of the Athenians.*

CAP. III. Eiſdem temporibus Perſarum rex Darius, ex Aſiâ in Europam exercitu trajecto, Scythis bellum inferre decrevit: pontem fecit in Iſtro flumine, quà copias traduceret. Ejus pontis, dum ipſe abeſſet, cuſtodes reliquit principes quos ſecum ex Ioniâ & Æolide duxerat: quibus ſingulis ipſarum urbium perpetua dederat imperia. Sic enim putavit facillime ſe Græcâ linguâ loquentes, qui Aſiam incolerent, ſub ſuâ retenturum poteſtate, ſi amicis ſuis oppida tuenda tradidiſſet: quibus, ſe oppreſſo, nulla ſpes ſalutis reliqueretur. In hoc fuit tum numero Miltiades, cui illa cuſtodia crederetur. Hic, quum crebri afferent

CHAP. III. *About the ſame Time Darius, King of the Perſians, drawing an Army over out of Aſia into Europe, reſolved to make War upon the † Scythians. He made a Bridge upon the River Iſter, by which to draw his Troops over. He left the Princes, which he had brought along with him from ‡ Ionia and Æolis, Keepers of that Bridge, whilſt he was away; to each of which he had given the perpetual Sovereignty of their ſeveral Cities. For thus he thought he ſhould moſt eaſily keep under his Subjection ſuch as ſpoke the Greek Tongue, that inhabited Aſia, if he delivered up* thoſe *Cities to be maintained by his Friends, to whom no Hope of Security would be left if he was conquered. Miltiades was then in this Number, to whom that Guard* of the Bridge *was*

D *entruſted.*

* The Carians were a People in the South-Weſt Parts of Aſia Minor. Their Country was called Caria.

† The Inhabitants of the North of Europe and Aſia were formerly called Scythians.

‡ Ionia and Æolis were Countries of Aſia Minor, lying along the Coaſts of the Ægean Sea.

ferrent nuncii malè rem gerere Darium, premique ab Scythis; Miltiades hortatus eſt pontis cuſtodes, ne à fortunâ datam occaſionem libera de Græciæ dimitterent: Nam ſi cum iis copiis, quas ſecum tranſportaverat interiiſſet Darius, non ſolum Europam fore tutam, ſed etiam eos, qui Aſiam incolerent, Græci genere, liberos à Perſarum futuros dominatione & periculo. Id & facilè effici poſſe: ponte enim reſciſſo, regem vel hoſtium ferro vel inopiâ paucis diebus interiturum. Ad hoc conſilium quum pleraque accederent, Hiſtiæus Mileſius, ne res conficeretur, obſtitit, dicens, non idem ipſis, qui ſummas imperii tenerent, expedire & multitudini, quod Darii regno ipſorum niteretur dominatio: Quo extincto ipſos poteſtate expulſos civibus ſuis pœnas daturos. Itaque adeò ſe abhorrere à cæterorum conſilio, ut nihil putet ipſis utilius, quàm confirmari regnum Perſarum. Hujus quum ſententiam plurimi eſſent ſecuti, Miltiades non dubitans, tam multis conſciis, ad regis aures conſilia ſua perventura, Cherſoneſum reliquit, ac rurſus Athenas demigravit. Cujus ratio etſi non valuit, tamen magnopere eſt laudanda, quum amicior omnium libertati, quam ſuæ fuerit dominationi.

CAP.

entruſted. Here, when frequent Meſſengers brought Word, *that Darius managed his Buſineſs* but *badly, and was hard put to it by the Scythians; Miltiades adviſed the Keepers of the Bridge that they would not ſlip an Opportunity of delivering Greece given* them *by Fortune: For, if Darius ſhould periſh with the Army which he had carried over with him, not only Europe would be ſafe, but likewiſe thoſe who, being Greeks by Original, inhabited Aſia, would be free from the Dominion of the Perſians, and* all *Danger. And that that might eaſily be effected; for the Bridge being cut down, the King would in a few Days periſh, either by the Enemy's Sword, or Want. When moſt of them came into this Advice, Hiſtiæus the Mileſian oppoſed the* Buſineſs, *that the Thing was not done, ſaying, that the ſame Thing was not expedient for them who had the Sovereignty* of their Cities, *and the People; that their Authority depended upon the Kingdom of Darius; which being deſtroyed, that they being depoſed from their Office, would be puniſhed by their Subjects. Wherefore he was ſo far from agreeing to the Counſel of the reſt, that he thought nothing was more advantageous to them, than the Eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom of the Perſians. As moſt of them followed his Advice, Miltiades not doubting, ſo many being privy* to the Matter, *that his Counſels would come to the King's Ears, quitted the Cherſoneſe, and again removed*

removed to Athens: Whoſe Advice, though it did not prevail, yet is mightily to be commended, ſince he was more a Friend to the Liberty of all, than his own Authority.

CAP. IV. Darius autem, quum ex Europâ in Aſiam rediiſſet, hortantibus amicis, ut Græciam in ſuam redigeret poteſtatem, claſſem quingentarum navium comparavit, eique Datim præfecit & Artaphernem: hiſque ducenta peditum millia, & decem equitum dedit, cauſam interferens, ſe hoſtem eſſe Ahtenienſibus, quod eorum auxilio Iones Sardes expugnaſſent, ſuaque præſidia interfeciſſent. Præfecti regii, claſſe ad Eubœam appulsâ, celeriter Eretriam ceperunt, omneſque ejus gentis cives abreptos, in Aſiam ad regem miſerunt. Inde ad Atticam acceſſerunt, ac ſuas copias in campum Marathona deduxerunt. Is abeſt ab oppido circiter millia paſſuum decem. Hoc tumultu Athenienſes tam propinquo, tamque magno permoti, auxilium nuſquam niſi à

CHAP. IV. *But Darius, after he had returned out of Europe into Aſia, his Friends adviſing him* to it, *that he might reduce Greece under his Authority, fitted out a Fleet of five hundred Ships, and ſet Datis and Artaphernes over it, and gave them two hundred thouſand Foot and ten thouſand Horſe; alledging* this *Reaſon, That he was an Enemy to the Athenians, becauſe by their Aſſiſtance,* * *the Ionians had taken* † *Sardis, and cut off his Garriſon.* Theſe *Admirals of the King, having brought up their Fleet to* ‡ *Eubœa, quickly took Eretria, and ſent all the Natives of that Nation, being taken from thence, into Aſia to the King. After that they came to* § *Attica, and drew out their Troops into the Plain of Marathon. That is diſtant about ten Miles from the Town of* Athens. *The Athenians being very much ſtartled at this Alarm, ſo near them, and ſo prodigious, ſought for Aſſiſtance no where, but*

D 2

* The Ionians were a People of Aſia Minor, bordering upon the Ægean Sea, being a Colony of Greeks ſent thither by the Athenians, about 1044 Years before Chriſt

† Sardis was the Metropolis of Lydia, a Country bordering upon Ionia to the Eaſtward.

‡ Eubœa is a large Iſland of the Ægean Sea, ſeparated from Achaia by a narrow Sea, called the Euripus.

§ Attica was the Country of the Athenians, in the Eaſt Parts of Achaia, lying along an Arm of the Ægean Sea, called the Saronick Bay.

à Lacedæmoniis petiverunt: Phillippidemq; curſorem ejus generis, qui hemerodromi vocantur, Lacedæmonem miſerunt, ut nunciaret quam celeri opus eſſet auxilio. Domi autem creati decem Prætores, qui exercitui præeſſent: in eis Miltiades. Inter quos magna fuit contentio, utrum mœnibus ſe defenderent, an obviàm irent hoſtibus, acieq; decernerent. Unus Miltiades maximè nitebatur, ut primo quoque tempore caſtra fierent: Id ſi factum eſſet, et civibus animum acceſſurum, cum viderent de eorum virtute non deſperari; et hoſtes eâdem re fore tardiores, ſi animadverterent auderi adverſus ſe tam. exiguis copiis dimicare.

*but from the Lacedemonians; and diſpatched away Philippides, a Courier of that Kind, who are called Day Couriers, * to Lacedæmon, to tell* them *what ſpeedy Aſſiſtance they had Occaſion for. But at Home ten Officers were choſen to command the Army; amongſt them* was *Miltiades. Amongſt them there was a mighty Diſpute whether they ſhould defend themſelves by* their *Walls, or march to meet the Enemy, and engage them in the Field. Miltiades alone very much inſiſted upon it, that a Camp ſhould be formed as ſoon as poſſible: If that was done, that both Courage would grow upon their Countrymen, when they ſaw their* Commanders *did not deſpair of their Bravery; and the Enemy would be* rendered *by the ſame Means more backward, when they found they durſt engage them with ſo ſmall a Force.*

CAP. V. Hoc in tempore nulla civitas Athenienſibus auxilio fuit præter Platæenſium: ea mille miſit militum. Itaque horum adventu, decem millia armatorum completa ſunt; quæ manus mirabili flagrabat pugnandi cupiditate: quo factum eſt, ut plus quàm collegæ Miltiades valuerit. Ejus enim auctoritate impulſi Athenienſes copias ex urbe eduxerunt,

CHAP. V. *At this Time no State was aſſiſting to the Athenians, beſides the † Platæenſians; that* State *ſent a thouſand Soldiers. Wherefore upon their Arrival, they were ten thouſand armed Men complete; which Army was fired with a wonderful Deſire of Fighting. By which Means it came to paſs, that Miltiades prevailed more than his Fellow Commiſſioners. For the Athenians, wrought upon by his Autho-*

* Lacedæmon was a City in the South Parts of Peloponneſus.

† Platæa was a Town in Bœotia, about twelve or fourteen Miles from Athens to the North Weſt.

runt, locoque idoneo caſtra fecerunt: deinde poſtero die ſub montis radicibus, acie è regione inſtructa, novâ arte, vi ſumma prælium commiſerunt. Namque arbores multis locis erant ſtratæ, hoc conſilio, ut et montium tegerentur altitudine, et arborum tractu equitatus hoſtium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur. Datis, etſi non locum æquum videbat ſuis, tamen fretus numero copiarum ſuarum, confligere cupiebat: eòque magis, quòd priuſquam Lacedæmonii ſubſidio venirent, dimicare utile arbitrabatur. Itaque in aciem peditum centum, equitum decem millia produxit, præliumque commiſit. In quo tantò plùs virtute valuerunt, Athenienſes, ut decemplicem numerum hoſtium profligarent: adeoque perterruerunt, ut Perſæ non caſtra, ſed naves peterent. Quâ pugnâ nihil adhuc eſt nobiliùs. Nulla enim unquam tam exigua manus tantas opes proſtravit.

Authority, drew their Troops out of the City, and formed a Camp in a proper Place; and then the Day following having drawn up their Army at the Bottom of a Mountain over againſt the Enemy, *with uncommon Art, they joined Battle with the utmoſt Mettle. * For there were Trees laid in many Places, with this Deſign, that they might be covered by the Height of the Mountains, and the Enemy's Horſe might be hindered by the lying of the Trees, that they might not be incloſed in their Numbers. Datis, although he ſaw the Place was not convenient for his Men, yet depending upon the Number of his Troops, was deſirous to engage; and the rather, becauſe he thought it convenient to fight before the Lacedemonians came to their Aſſiſtance. Wherefore he drew out into the Field a hundred thouſand Foot and ten thouſand Horſe and joined Battle. In which the Athenians prevailed ſo much more* than the Enemy, *by their Bravery, that they routed ten times the Number of Enemies, and ſo affrighted them, that the Perſians did not make for their Camp, but their Ships Than which Fight there is nothing as yet more famous; for no Army ſo ſmall ever routed ſo vaſt a Force* before.

CAP. VI. Cujus victoriæ, non alienum videtur, quale præmium Miltiadi ſit tributum docere; quo faciliùs intelligi

CHAP. VI. *For which Victory, it does not ſeem improper to inform the* Reader, *what Reward was given Miltiades; that it may be*

* The Latin Text is here very much corrupted; and therefore if the Tranſlation appears not to be very good Senſe, the Reader will excuſe it.

telligi poſſit, *eandem omnium civitatem eſſe naturam.* Ut enim populi noſtri honores quondam fuerunt rari & tenues, ob eamque cauſam glorioſi, nunc autem effuſi, atque obſoleti: ſic olim apud Athenienſes fuiſſe reperimus. Namque huic Miltiadi, qui Athenas, totamque Græciam liberavit, talis honos tributus eſt, in porticu, quæ *Pœcile* vocatur, cùm pugna depingeretur Marathonia; ut in decem prætorum numero prima ejus imago poneretur, iſque hortaretur milites, præliumque committeret. Idem ille populus, poſteaquam majus imperium eſt nactus, & largitione magiſtratuum corruptus eſt, trecentas ſtatuas Demetrio Phalereo decrevit.

CAP. VII. Poſt hoc præliam claſſem ſeptuaginta navium Athenienſes eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut inſulas, quæ Barbaros adjuverant, bello perſequeretur. Quo imperio pleraſque ad officium redire coëgit, nonnullas vi expugnavit. Ex his Parum inſulam opibus elatam quum oratione reconciliare non poſſet, copias è navibus eduxit, urbem operibus clauſit, omniq; commeatu privavit: Deinde vineis

be the more eaſily underſtood, that the Nature of all Cities is the ſame. *For as the Honours of our People were formerly rare and ſmall, and for that Reaſon glorious, but now extravagant, and worn Thread-bare; thus we find it to have been formerly amongſt the Athenians. For ſuch was the Honour paid to Miltiades, who delivered Athens, and all Greece, in the Piazza which is called Pœcile, when the Battle of Marathon was painted* there, *that his Picture was placed firſt in the Number of the ten Commanders, and he encouraged the Soldiers, and began the Battle. The ſame People, after they got a larger* Extent *of Dominion, and were corrupted by the Extravagance of* their own *Magiſtrates, decreed three hundred Statues to* * *Demetrius Phalereus.*

CHAP. VII. *After this Battle, the Athenians gave the ſame Miltiades a Fleet of ſeventy Ships, that he might proſecute in War the Iſlands that had aſſiſted the Barbarians. In which Command he obliged moſt of them to return to their Duty; ſome he took by Force. Not being able by Perſuaſion to prevail upon* one *of theſe, the Iſland* † *Parus,* too much *elated by their Power, he drew his Troops out of his Ships, blocked up the City by Lines drawn round*

* Demetrius was Governor of Athens about 300 Years before Chriſt: But, being driven from thence, went into Egypt, where, upon Account of his Learning, he was made Preſident of the Muſæum or Academy erected at Alexandria by Ptolemy Soter.

† Parus was one of the Iſlands called Cyclades in the Ægean Sea.

vineis ac teſtudinibus conſtitutis, propiùs muros acceſſit. Quum jam in eo eſſet, ut oppido potiretur, procul in continenti lucus, qui ex inſulæ conſpiciebatur, neſcio quo caſu, nocturno tempore incenſus eſt; cujus flamma ut ab oppidanis et oppugnatoribus eſt viſa, utriuſque venit in opinionem, ſignum à claſſiariis regiis datum. Quo factum eſt, ut et Parii à deditione deterrerentur, & Miltiades, timens ne claſſis regia adventaret, incenſis operibus, quæ ſtatuerat, cum totidem navibus atque erat profectus, Athenas magnâ cum offenſione civium ſuorum rediret. Accuſatus ergo proditionis, quòd cùm Parum expugnare poſſet, à rege corruptus, infectis rebus à pugnâ diſceſſiſſet. Eo tempore æger erat vulneribus, quæ in oppugnando oppido acceperat. Itaque quoniam ipſe pro ſe dicere non poſſet, verba pro eo fecit frater ejus Tiſagoras. Causâ cognitâ, capitis abſolutus, pecuniâ mulctatus eſt, eaq; iis quinquaginta talentis æſtimata eſt, quantus in claſſem ſumtus factus erat. Hanc pecuniam quòd ſolvere non poterat, in vincula publica conjectus eſt, ibiq; diem obiit ſupremum.

CAP.

*round it, and deprived it of all Proviſions; and then having erected his * Vineæ and Teſtudo's, came nearer the Walls. When he was upon the Point of taking the Town, a Grove at a Diſtance upon the Continent, which was viſible from the Iſland, by I know not what Chance, was ſet on Fire in the Night-time; the Flame of which being ſeen by the Townſmen and the Beſiegers, it came into the Fancy of both, that it was a Signal given by thoſe on Board the King's Fleet, by which it came to paſs, that both the Parians were diſſuaded from ſurrendering, and Miltiades, fearing leſt the King's Fleet was coming, ſetting Fire to the Works he had erected, returned to Athens, to the great Offence of his Countrymen, with as many Ships as he went out with. Wherefore he was impeached of Treachery, becauſe, when he might have taken Parus, being bribed by the King of* Perſia, *he had quitted the Siege without doing his Work. He was at that Time ill of the Wounds which he had received in attacking the Town. Wherefore, becauſe he could not ſpeak for himſelf, his Brother Tiſagoras ſpoke for him. Upon hearing his Cauſe, being acquitted as to Life, he was fined a* Sum *of Money, and his Fine was ſet at fifty Talents,* which was *the Charge they had been at in* fitting out *the Fleet,*

* I have not tranſlated the Latin Words *Vinea* and *Teſtudo*, becauſe our Language has none to anſwer them: They were Machines made uſe of in Sieges to cover the Beſiegers.

Fleet. Becauſe he could not pay the Money, he was thrown into the publick Gaol, and there he ended his laſt Day.

CAP. VIII. Hic etſi crimine Pario eſt accuſatus, tamen alia fuit cauſa damnationis. Namque Athenienſis, propter Piſiſtrati tyrannidem, quæ paucis annis antè fuerat, omnium ſuorum civium potentiam extimeſcebant. Miltiades multùm in imperiis magiſtratibuſque verſatus, non videbatur poſſe eſſe privatus: præſertim cum conſuetudine ad imperii cupiditatem trahi videretur. Nam Cherſoneſi, omnes illos quos habitârat annos, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem, tyrannuſque fuerat appellatus, ſed juſtus. Non erat enim vi conſecutus, ſed ſuorum voluntate; eamque poteſtatem bonitate retinuerat. Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetuâ in eâ civitate, quæ libertate uſa eſt. Sed in Miltiade erat cùm ſumma humanitas, tum mira comitas, ut nemo tam humilis eſſet, cui

CHAP. VIII. *Altho' he was accuſed upon his Miſcarriage at Parus, yet there was another Reaſon of his Condemnation. For the Athenians, becauſe of the* * *Uſurpation of Piſiſtratus, which had happened a few Years before, dreaded the Power of all their own Citizens. Miltiades, having been much in Command, and Civil Offices, did not ſeem capable of being a private Perſon, eſpecially ſince he ſeemed to be dragged by Cuſtom into a Fondneſs for Power. For he had held, without Intermiſſion, the Sovereignty of the Cherſoneſe all the Years that he had lived there, and had been called Tyrannus, but* was *a juſt one: For he had not compaſſed* his Power *by Violence, but by the Conſent of his Countrymen, and had kept his Authority by his Goodneſs. But all are both accounted and called Tyranni, who are* inveſted *with Power for life, in a State which had before enjoyed the* Happineſs of *Liberty. But there was in Miltiades, both the greateſt Humanity, and a wonderful Complaiſance*

* I tranſlate *Tyranni's* Uſurpation; becauſe, though Piſiſtratus did, by ſeizing the Government, deſtroy the Liberty of his Country, and was, upon that Score, an execrable Villain; yet he does not appear to have been at all tyrannical in his Government. The Word *Tyranni* was at firſt taken in a good Senſe for a King or Prince; then for an Uſurper, how he managed his Power, when he had got it, as appears from the Author; and, laſtly, for a wicked barbarous Prince, that got his Power.

cui non ad eum aditus pateret: magna auctoritas apud omnes civitates, nobile nomen. Laus rei militaris maxima. Hæc populus reſpiciens maluit eum innoxium plecti, quam ſe diutius eſſe in timore.

plaiſance, that nobody was ſo mean, to whom Acceſs to him was not allowed. His Authority was great amongſt all the Cities of Greece, *his Name* was *famous*, and *his Reputation for military Affairs very conſiderable. The People, conſidering theſe Things, choſe rather to have him puniſhed, innocent* as he was, *than to be any longer in Fear of him.*

II.

THEMISTOCLES, Neocli *Filius Athenienſis.*

CAP. I.

HUJUS vitia in-euntis adoleſcentiæ magnis ſunt emendata virtutibus: adeò ut anteferatur huic nemo, pauci pares putentur. Sed ab initio eſt ordiendum. Pater ejus Neoclus generoſus fuit. Is uxorem Halicarnaſſiam civem duxit, ex quâ natus eſt Themiſtocles. Qui cùm minùs eſſet probatus parentibus, quòd & liberiùs vivebat, et rem familiarem negligebat, à patre exhæredatus eſt. Quæ contumelia non fregit eum, ſed erexit. Nam quum judicâſſet ſine ſummâ induſtriâ non poſſe eam extingui, totum ſe dedidit reipublicæ, diligentiùs amicis famæque ſerviens. Multùm in judiciis privatis verſabatur: ſæpe in concionem

II.

THEMISTOCLES, *the Son of* Neoclus *the Athenian.*

CHAP. I.

THE *Vices of his early Youth were made Amends for by* his *great Virtues; ſo that nobody is preferred before him,* and *few are thought his Equals. But we muſt begin at the Beginning. His Father Neoclus was a Gentleman; he married a Lady of* * *Halicarnaſſus, of whom was born Themiſtocles: Who being not at all approved of by his Parents, becauſe he lived too faſt, and neglected his Eſtate, was diſinherited by his Father; which rough Uſage did not break* his Spirit, *but rouſed him. For as he judged that* Blot *could not be wiped off without the utmoſt Induſtry, he gave himſelf entirely* to Matters of *Government, ſerving diligently his Friends, and* his own *Reputation. He was much concerned in* † *private Cauſes, often came into the Aſſembly*

* Halicarnaſſus was a Town of Caria, a Province in the South-Weſt Parts of Aſia Minor.

† Private Cauſes were ſuch wherein particular Perſons only, and not of the State or Government, were concerned.

nem populi prodibat; nulla res major ſine illo gerebatur: celeritèrquæ quæ opus erant, reperiebat, facilè eadem oratione explicabat. Neque minùs in rebus gerendis promtus quàm excogitandis erat; quòd & *de inſtantibus* (ut ait Thucydides) *veriſſimè judicabat, & de futuris callidiſſimè conjiciebat.* Quo factum eſt, ut brevi tempore illuſtraretur.

Aſſembly of the People, no great Thing was tranſacted without him, and he quickly diſcovered what was needful to be done, *and eaſily laid open the ſame in his Addreſs* to the People. *Nor was he leſs expeditious in the Manegement of Buſineſs, than in the Contrivance; becauſe (as Thucydides ſays)* he judged very truly of Things preſent, and gueſſed very ſhrewdly at Things to come. *By which* Means *it came to paſs, that he was very famous in a ſhort Time.*

CAP. II. Primus autem gradus fuit capeſſendæ reipublicæ, bello Corcyræo: ad quod gerendum Prætor à populo factus, non ſolùm præſenti bello, ſed etiam reliquo tempore ferociorem reddidit civitatem. Nam cùm pecunia publica, quæ ex metallis redibat, largitione magiſtratuum quotannis interiret: ille perſuaſit populo, ut eâ pecuniâ claſſis centum navium ædificaretur. Quâ celeriter effectâ, primum Corcyræos fregit: deinde maritimos prædones conſectando, mare tutum reddidit. In quo cùm divitiis ornavit, tum peritiſſimos belli navalis fecit Athenienſes. Id quantæ ſaluti fuerit univerſæ Greciæ, bello cognitum eſt Perſico. Nam quum Xerxes & mari & terrâ bellum univerſæ inferret Europæ, cum tantis eam copiis invaſit, quantas neq; antè, neque poſtea, habuit quiſ-

CHAP. II. His *firſt Step in the Undertaking of publick Buſineſs, was in the Corcyrean War; for the carrying on of which he was made Prætor by the People,* and *made the City more daring, not only for the War then upon their Hands, but for the Time to come. For the publick Money which came in by the Mines, being loſt every Year, by the Extravagance of the Magiſtrates, he perſuaded the People, that a Fleet of a hundred Ships ſhould be built with that Money; which being quickly effected, he firſt reduced the Corcyreans, and then rendered the Sea ſecure by chaſing the Pirates. In which he both enriched the Athenians with Wealth, and likewiſe rendered them very ſkilful in Sea-fights. How much that* contributed *to the Preſervation of all Greece, was viſible in the Perſian War. For when Xerxes made War upon all Europe, both by Sea and Land, he invaded it with ſo great a Force, as neither any one before or ſince had; for*

quiſquam. Hujus enim claſſis mille & ducentarum navium longarum fuit, quam duo millia onerariarum ſequebantur. Terreſtres autem exercitus ſeptingentorum millium peditum, equitum quadringentorum millium fuerunt. Cujus de adventu quum fama in Græciam eſſet perlata, et maximè Athenienſes peti dicerentur propter pugnam Marathoniam; miſerunt Delphos conſultum quidnam facerent de rebus ſuis. Deliberantibus Pythia reſpondit, ut mœnibus ligneis ſe munirent. Id reſponſum quò valeret quum intelligeret nemo, Themiſtocles perſuaſit, conſilium eſſe Apollinis, ut in naves ſe ſuaque conferrent: eum enim à Deo ſignificari murum ligneum. Tali conſilio probato, addunt ad ſuperiores totidem naves triremes; ſuaque omnia quæ moveri poterant, partim Salaminem, partim Trœzenem, aſportant: arcem ſacerdotibus pauciſque majoribus natu, ad ſacra procuranda tradunt: reliquum oppidum relinquunt.

*his Fleet was a thouſand two hundred * long Ships, which two thouſand Ships of Burden attended. His Land Armies were* to the Number *of ſeven hundred thouſand Foot, and four hundred thouſand Horſe. Concerning whoſe Coming, when the News was brought into Greece, and the Athenians were ſaid to be chiefly aimed at, becauſe of the Battle of Marathon, they ſent to Delphos, to conſult what they ſhould do in that Caſe. The Pythoneſs anſwered the Queriſts, that they ſhould ſecure themſelves by wooden Walls, When nobody could underſtand to what that Anſwer tended, Themiſtocles perſuaded them, that it was the Advice of Apollo, to get themſelves and what they had, on board their Ships, for that was the wooden Wall meant by the God. This Advice being approved, they add to their former as many more Ships, with three Banks of Oars, and carry off all their Goods that could be removed partly to † Salamis, partly to Trœzen. They deliver up the Citadel and holy Things to the Prieſts, and a few old Men, to take care of,* and *leave the reſt of the Town.*

CAP. III. Hujus conſilium pleriſque civitatibus diſplicebat,

CHAP. III. *His Advice diſpleaſed moſt of the Cities, and they*

* The Ships uſed in Sea-fights, or Men of War, were of a longer Make than the trading Veſſels, and therefore called *longæ Naves.*

† Salamis is an Iſland almoſt over againſt Athens, and Trœzen a Town of Peloponneſus upon the Saronick Bay.

cebat, & in terrâ dimicari magis placebat. Itaque miſſi ſunt delecti cum Leonidâ Lacedæmoniorum rege, qui Thermopylas occuparent, longiùſque Barbaros progredi non paterentur. Hi vim hoſtium non ſuſtinuerunt, eoque loco omnes interiêrunt. At claſſis communis Græciæ trecentarium navium, in quâ ducentæ erant Athenienſium, primùm apud Artemiſium, inter Eubœam continentemque terram, cum claſſiariis regiis conflixit. Anguſtias enim Themiſtocles quærebat, ne multitudine circumiretur. Hinc etſi pari prælio diſceſſerant, tamen eodem loco non ſunt auſi manere, quòd erat periculum, ne, ſi pars navium adverſariorum Eubœam ſuperâſſet, ancipiti premerentur periculo. Quo factum eſt, ut ab Artemiſio diſcederent, & ex adverſùm Athenas apud Salamina claſſem ſuam conſtituerent.

they liked rather to fight by Land. Wherefore ſome choſen Men were ſent with Leonidas the King of the Lacedemonians, to ſeize * *Thermopylæ, and hinder the Barbarians from advancing any farther: Theſe could not withſtand the Fury of the Enemy, and all died in that Place. But the common Fleet of Greece,* conſiſting *of three hundred Ships, in which were two hundred of the Athenians, firſt engaged with the King's Fleet at* † *Artemiſium, betwixt Eubœa and the Continent. For Themiſtocles ſought a narrow Sea* to engage in, *leſt he ſhould be ſurrounded by their Numbers. Although they came off from hence with equal* Advantage in the *Fight, yet they durſt not ſtay in the ſame Place, becauſe the Danger was, leſt, if a Part of the Enemy's Ships ſhould get round Eubœa, they ſhould be* ‡ *diſtreſſed by a double Danger. Upon which Account it came to paſs, that they departed from Artemiſium, and drew up their Fleet over-againſt Athens by Salamis.*

CAP. IV. At Xerxes Thermopylis expugnatis protinus acceſſit aſtu: idque nullis defendentibus, interfectis ſacerdotibus, quos in arce invenerat, incendio delevit. Cujus

CHAP. IV. *But Xerxes having taken Thermopylæ, immediately came to the City, and none defending it, ſlaying the Prieſts which he found in the Citadel, he deſtroyed it with Fire. With the Flame*

* Thermopylæ is a narrow Paſs betwixt the Ægean Sea and the Mountains, upon the Confines of Theſſaly and Achaia

† Artemiſium is a Promontory in the North Parts of the Iſland of Eubœa.

‡ *Ancipiti periculo premi* ſignifies, in plain Engliſh, to be attacked in Front and Rear all at once.

Cujus flammâ perterriti claſſiarii, quum manere non auderent, & plurimi hortarentur, ut domos ſuas quiſque diſcederent, mœnibuſque ſe defenderent; Themiſtocles unus reſtitit, & univerſos eſſe pares aiebat: diſperſos teſtabatur perituros. Idque Eurybiadi regi Lacedæmoniorum, qui tum ſummæ imperii præerat, fore affirmabat. Quem quum minùs quam vellet moveret, noctu de ſervis ſuis quem habuit fideliſſimum, ad regem miſit, ut ei nunciaret ſuis verbis, adverſarios ejus in fugâ eſſe. Qui ſi diſceſſiſſent, majore cum labore & longinquiore tempore bellum confecturum, cùm ſingulos conſectari cogeretur; quos ſi ſtatim aggrederetur, brevi univerſos oppreſſurum. Hoc eò valebat ut ingratiis ad depugnandum omnes cogerentur. Hâc re auditâ Barbarus nihil doli ſubeſſe credans, poſtridie alieniſſimo ſibi loco, contrà opportuniſſimo hoſtibus, adeò anguſto mari conflixit, ut ejus multitudo navium explicari non potuerit. Victus eſt ergo magis conſilio Themiſtoclis, quàm armis Græciæ.

Flame of which thoſe on board the Fleet being affrighted, not daring to ſtay, and many adviſing, that they ſhould depart every one to their own Homes, and defend themſelves by their Walls, Themiſtocles alone oppoſed it, and ſaid, that altogether they would be a Match for them; *but declared that* if they ſeparated, *they would be ruined, and that, he affirmed, would be, to Eurybiades King of the Lacedemonians, who at that Time was in the chief Command. Whom ſince he wrought upon leſs than he could wiſh, he ſent by Night the moſt truſty of the Slaves that he had to the King, to tell him in his Words, that his Enemies were about flying: That if they ſhould depart, he would diſpatch the War with greater Trouble and longer Time, ſince he would be obliged to purſue them ſingly, whom, if he attacked immediately, he might conquer all in a ſhort* Time. *This tended to that* Purpoſe, *that they might be forced to fight altogether againſt their Wills. The Barbarian hearing this Thing, ſuppoſing there was nothing of Fraud in* the Caſe, *engaged the Day following in a Place the moſt improper for himſelf, and on the other Hand, very convenient for his Enemies, in ſo narrow a Sea, that the great Number of his Ships could not be drawn out* to a due Length. *Wherefore he was conquered more by the Contrivance of Themiſtocles, than the Arms of Greece.*

CAP. CHAP.

CAP. V. Hîc Barbarus, etſi malè rem geſſerat, tamen tantas habebat reliquias copiarum, ut etiam cum his opprimere poſſet hoſtes. Interim tamen ab eodem gradu depulſus eſt. Nam Themiſtocles verens, ne bellare perſeveraret, certiorem eum fecit, id agi, ut pons, quem ille in Helleſponto fecerat, diſſolveretur; ac reditus in Aſiam excluderetur: Idque ei perſuaſit. Itaque quâ ſex menſibus iter fecerat, eâdem minùs diebus triginta in Aſiam reverſus eſt: ſeque à Themiſtocle non ſuperatum, ſed conſervatum, judicavit. Sic unius viri prudentiâ Græcia liberata eſt, Europæque ſuccubuit Aſia. Hæc altera victoria, quæ cum Marathonio poſſit comparari tropæo. Nam pari modo apud Salaminam parvo numero navium, maxima poſt hominum memoriam claſſis eſt devicta.

CHAP. V. *Here, although the Barbarian had managed his Buſineſs* but *badly, yet he had ſuch conſiderable Remains of Forces, that even with theſe he might have conquered his Enemies. Notwithſtanding in the mean Time he was driven from his* * *Stand by the ſame Perſon. For Themiſtocles fearing leſt he ſhould continue the War, made him acquainted, that it was intended, that the Bridge which he had made over the Helleſpont, ſhould be broken down, and he prevented from returning into Aſia. And that, he perſuaded him,* was certainly *ſo. Wherefore he returned into Aſia, in leſs than thirty Days, the ſame* Way *by which he had made his March* thither in no leſs than *ſix Months; and judged himſelf not conquered, but ſaved by Themiſtocles. Thus by the Prudence of one Man, Greece was delivered, and Aſia fell under Europe. This is another Victory that may be compared with the Victory of Marathon; for the greateſt Fleet, ſince* we have had any *Hiſtory of Mankind, was conquered in the like Manner at Salamis, with a ſmall Number of Ships.*

CAP. VI. Magnus hoc bello Themiſtocles fuit, neque minor in pace. Quum enim Phalereo portu, neque magno neque bono, Athenienſes uterentur,

CHAP. VI. *Themiſtocles was great in this War, and no leſs in Peace. For whereas the Athenians made uſe of the Phalerean Harbour, neither great nor good,*

by

* This is a Metaphor taken from Gladiators or Fencers, who, when obliged to quit their Stand or Ground, were ſaid *gradu dejici* or *gradu depelli*.

rentur, hujus consilio triplex Pyræei portus constitutus est: isque mœnibus circundatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate æquipararet, utilitate superaret. Idemque muros Athenienſium reſtituit præcipuo ſuo periculo. Namque Lacedæmonii cauſam idoneam nacti, propter excurſiones Barbarorum, quâ negarent oportere extra Peloponneſum ullam urbem haberi, ne eſſent loca munita quæ hoſtes poſſiderent; Athenienſes ædificantes prohibere ſunt conati. Hoc longè aliò ſpectabat, atque videri volebant. Athenienſes enim duabus victoriis, Marathonia & Salaminia, tantam gloriam apud omnes gentes erant conſecuti, ut intelligerent Lacedæmonii de principatu ſibi cum his certamen fore: quare eos quàm infirmiſſimos eſſe volebant. Poſtquam autem audiêrunt muros inſtrui, legatos Athenas miſerunt, qui id fieri vetarent. His præſentibus deſiêrunt, ac ſe de eâ re legatos ad eos miſſuros dixerunt. Hanc legationem ſuſcepit Themiſtocles, & ſolus primò profectus eſt: reliqui legati ut tum exirent, quum ſatis altitudo muri exſtructa videretur, præcipit; atque ut interim omnes ſervi atque liberi opus face-

*by his Advice a triple Harbour was formed at * Pyræus, and that was ſurrounded with a Wall; ſo that it equalled the City in Beauty, and exceeded it in Uſefulneſs: And the ſame* Man *rebuilt the Walls of the Athenians, at his own particular Hazard. For the Lacedemonians having got a fine Pretence, by reaſon of the Inroads of the Barbarians, whereupon to deny that any City ought to be kept without Peloponneſus, that there might be no fortified Places which the Enemy might poſſeſs themſelves of, endeavoured to hinder the Athennians* from *building. This tended to quite another* Purpoſe, *than they were willing ſhould appear. For the Athenians, by the two Victories of Marathon and Salamis, had got ſo much Glory amongſt all Nations, that the Lacedemonians were ſenſible they ſhould have a Diſpute with them for the Maſtery. Wherefore they had a Mind they ſhould be as weak as poſſible. But after they heard the Walls were building, they ſent Ambaſſadors to Athens, to forbid that to be done. Whilſt they were preſent, they gave over, and ſaid, they would ſend Ambaſſadors to them about that Affair. Themiſtocles undertook this Embaſſy, and went alone at firſt: He ordered that the reſt of the Ambaſſadors ſhould then ſet forward, when the Height of the Wall*

* Pyræus was a Town at the Mouth of the River, upon which Athens ſtood, and about five Miles from that City.

facerent; neque ulli loco parcerent, ſive ſacer eſſet, ſive profanus, ſive privatus, ſive publicus: ſed undique, quòd idoneum ad muniendum putarent, congererent. Quo factum eſt, ut Athenienſium muri ex ſacellis ſepulchriſque conſtarent.

Wall ſeemed pretty well advanced; and in the mean Time that all Slaves and Freemen ſhould work, and ſpare no Place, whether it was ſacred or profane, whether private or publick; but get together from all Hands what they thought proper to build with. From whence it came to paſs, that the Walls of tht Athenians conſiſted of Chapels and Sepulchres.

CAP. VII. Themiſtoeles autem, ut Lacedemonem venit, adire ad Magiſtratus noluit; & dedit operam, ut quàm longiſſimè tempus duceret, cauſam interponens, ſe collegas expectare. Quum Lacedæmonii quererentur opus nihilominus fieri, eumque eâ re conari fallere, interim reliqui legati ſunt conſecuti; à quibus quum audiiſſet, non multum ſupereſſe munitionis, ad Ephoros Lacedæmoniorum acceſſit, penes quos ſummum imperium erat: atque apud eos contendit, falſa his eſſe delata; quare æquum eſſe illos, viros bonos nobileſque mittere, quibus fides adhiberetur, qui rem explorarent: interea ſe obſidem retinerent. Geſtus eſt ei mos, treſque legati, functi ſummis honoribus, Athenas miſſi ſunt. Cùm his collegas ſuos Themiſtocles juſſit proficiſci, eiſque predixit, ut ne priùs, Lacedæmoniorum legatos dimitterent, quàm ipſe eſſet remiſſus. Hos poſtquam Athenas

CHAP. VII. *But Themiſtocles, as ſoon as he came to Lacedemon, would not wait upon the Magiſtrates, and did his Endeavour to ſpin out the Time as long as poſſible, alledging this Reaſon, that he waited for his Colleagues. When the Lacedemonians complained that the Work went on nevertheleſs, and that he endeavoured to deceive* them *in that Matter, in the mean Time the reſt of the Ambaſſadors came up: From whom, when he had heard that not much of the Wall remained* to be done, *he went to the Ephori of the Lacedemonians, in whom the Supreme Power was* veſted, *and avers before them, that a falſe* Account *had been given them; wherefore it was but reaſonable for them to ſend honeſt Men and Gentlemen, to whom Credit might be given, to examine into the Matter; in the mean Time they might keep him as a Hoſtage. He was complied with, and three Ambaſſadors, that had borne the higheſt Offices, were ſent to Athens. Themiſtocles ordered his Colleagues to go along with them, and warned them, that they ſhould not diſmiſs*

thenas perveniſſe ratus eſt, ad magiſtratum ſenatumque Lacedæmoniorum adiit, & apud eos liberrimè profeſſus eſt, Athenienſes ſuo conſilio, quod communi jure gentium facere poſſent, deos publicos, ſuoſque patrios ac penates, quò facilius ab hoſte poſſent defendere, muris ſepſiſſe: neque eò, quod inutile eſſet Græciæ, feciſſe. Nam illorum urbem, ut propugnaculum, oppoſitam eſſe Barbaris, apud quam jam bis claſſis regia feciſſet naufragium. Lacedæmonios autem malè et injuſtè facere, qui id potius intuerentur, quod ipſorum dominationi, quàm quod univerſæ Græciæ, utile eſſet. Quare, ſi ſuos legatos recipere vellent, quos Athenas miſerant, ſe remitterent; aliter illos nunquam in patriam eſſent recepturi.

the Ambaſſadors of the Lacedemonians, before he was ſent back again. After he thought they were got to Athens, he went to the Magiſtrates and Senate of the Lacedemonians, and very frankly declared before them, that the Athenians, by his Advice, had encloſed within Walls their publick Gods, their Country Gods, and Houſhold Gods, that they might the more eaſily defend them from an Enemy, which they might have done by the common Law of Nations; nor had they done therein what was uſeleſs to Greece: For their City was placed as a Bulwark againſt the Barbarians, at which the King's Fleet had already twice ſuffered Shipwreck. And that the Lacedemonians acted ill and unjuſtly, who more regarded that, which was uſeful to promote *their own Dominion, than what* was for the Intereſt *of all Greece. Wherefore, if they had a Mind to receive their Ambaſſadors again, which they had ſent to Athens, they muſt ſend him back; otherwiſe they would never receive them into their Country* again.

CAP. VIII. Hic tamen non effugit civium ſuorum invidiam: Namque ob eundem timorem, quo damnatus erat Milti-

CHAP. VIII. *Yet he did not eſcape the Odium of his Countrymen: For being turned out of the City by the* * *Votes of the Shells, from*

* The Athenians, when they became jealous of any of their great Men, as dangerous to their publick Liberty, uſed to baniſh them for ten Years. The Way of Voting upon that Occaſion was, by writing the Perſon's Name upon a Shell, called in Greek *Oſtracon*, from whence this Sort of Baniſhment was called Oſtraciſm.

Miltiades, teſtarum ſuffragiis è civitate ejectus, Argos habitatum conceſſit. Hìc quum, propter multas ejus virtutes, magnâ cum dignitate viveret, Lacedæmonii legatos Athenas miſerunt, qui eum abſentem accuſarent, quòd ſocietatem cum rege Perſarum ad Græciam opprimendam feciſſet. Hoc crimine abſens proditionis eſt damnatus. Id ut audivit, quòd non ſatis tutum ſe Argis videbat, Corcyram demigravit. Ibi cum ejus principes civitatis animadvertiſſet timere, ne propter ſe bellum ſibi Lacedæmonii & Athenienſes indicerent, ad Admetum Moloſſorum regem, cum quo ei hoſpitium fuerat, confugit. Huc cùm veniſſet, & in præſentiâ rex abeſſet, quò majore religione ſe receptum tueretur, filiam ejus parvulam arripuit, & cum eâ ſe in ſacrarium, quod ſummâ colebatur ceremoniâ, conjecit: inde non prius egreſſus eſt, quàm rex eum datâ dextrâ in fidem reciperet: quam præſtitit. Nam cùm ab Athenienſibus & Lacedæmoniis expoſceretur publicè, ſupplicem non prodidit; monuitque, ut conſuleret ſibi: difficile

*from the ſame Jealouſy upon which Miltiades had been condemned, he went to * Argos to dwell. As he lived here in great Honour, becauſe of his many excellent Qualities, the Lacedemonians ſent Ambaſſadors to Athens, to accuſe him in his Abſence for having made an Agreement with the King of the Perſians to ſubdue Greece. Upon this Charge he was condemned in his Abſence for Treaſon. As ſoon as he heard that, becauſe he ſaw he* ſhould *not* be *ſafe enough at Argos, he removed to † Corcyra. There, when he obſerved the great Men of that State to be afraid leſt the Athenians and Lacedemonians ſhould proclaim War againſt them upon his Account, he fled to Admetus King of the § Moloſſi, with whom he had a Friendſhip. After he was come hither, and the King at that Time was abſent, that he might ſecure himſelf upon his Reception with a ſtronger* Obligation of *Religion, he took his little Daughter, and threw him* (*with her into a Chapel, which was regarded with the utmoſt Veneration. He came not out from thence till the King, giving him his right Hand, took him under his Protection; which he made good. For when he was publickly demanded by the Athenians and Lacedemonians, he did not betray his Refugee, and*

* Argos was a City in the North Parts of Peloponneſus.
† Corcyra is an Iſland upon the Coaſt of Epire, now called Corfu.
§ The Moloſſi were a People of Epire.

ficile enim esse, in tam propinquo loco, tutò eum versari. Itaque Pydnam eum deduci jussit, & quod satis esset præsidii dedit: Hâc re auditâ, hic in navem omnibus ignotus ascendit: quæ cùm tempestate maximâ Naxum ferretur, ubi tum Athenienſium erat exercitus, ſenſit Themiſtocles, ſi eò perveniſſet, ſibi eſſe pereundum. Hâc neceſſitate coactus, domino navis, quis ſit, aperit, multa pollicens, ſi ſe conſervâſſet. At ille, clariſſimi viri captus miſericordiâ, diem noctemque procul ab inſulâ in ſalo navem tenuit in anchoris, neque quenquam ex eâ exire paſſus eſt: inde Epheſum pervenit, ibique Themiſtoclem exponit: cui ille pro meritis gratiam poſtea retulit.

warned him to provide for himſelf, for it would be difficult for him to be ſafe in ſo near a Place. Wherefore he ordered him to be conducted to Pydna, and gave him what Guard was ſufficient. This Thing being heard, he went aboard a Ship, unknown to all there; *which being driven by a very great Storm for* * *Naxus, where at that Time was an Army of the Athenians, Themiſtocles was ſenſible, if he came there, he muſt periſh. Being forced by this Neceſſity, he diſcovered to the Maſter of the Veſſel who he was, promiſing* him *many Things, if he would ſave him. And he, being ſeized with Pity of* this *moſt famous Man, kept the Ship Day and Night a great Diſtance from the Iſland, in the main Sea, at Anchor, nor did he ſuffer any body to go out of it. After that he came to* † *Epheſus, and there lands Themiſtocles, to whom he afterwards made a Requital according to his Deſert.*

CAP. IX. Scio pleroſque ita ſcripſiſſe, Themiſtoclem Xerxe regnante in Aſiam tranſiiſſe. Sed ego potiſſimùm Thucydidi credo, quòd ætate proximus erat, de his, qui illorum temporum hiſtoriam reliquerunt, & ejuſdem civitatis

CHAP. IX. *I know that moſt* Authors *have written that Themiſtocles went over into Aſia, whilſt Xerxes was reigning: But I truſt Thucydides above others, becauſe he was in Time the neareſt* to him *of thoſe who have left the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, and of the ſame City.*

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* Naxus is an Iſland of the Ægean Sea, one of thoſe called Cyclades.

† Epheſus was a famous City in that Part of Aſia Minor called Ionia, near the Sea.

civitatis fuit. Is autem ait, ad Artaxerxem eum venisse, atque his verbis epistolam misisse: *Themistocles veni ad te, qui plurima mala omnium Graiorum in domum tuam intuli, quum mihi necesse fuit adversus patrem tuum bellare, patriamque meam defendere. Idem multò plura boni feci postquam in tuto ipse ego, & ille in periculo esse cœpit. Nam quum in Asiam reverti nollet, prælio apud Salamina facto, literis eum certiorem feci, id agi, ut pons quem in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur, atque ab hostibus circumiretur. Quo nuncio ille periculo est liberatus. Nunc autem ad te confugi, exagitatus à cunctâ Græciâ, tuam petens amicitiam: quam si ero adeptus, non minùs me bonum amicum habebis quam fortem ille inimicum expertus est. Ea autem rogo, ut de his rebus, de quibus tecum colloqui volo, annum mihi temporis des, eoque transacto me ad te venire patiaris.*

City. *But he says, that he came to Artaxerxes, and sent a Letter* to him *in these Words:* I Themistocles am come to you, who of all the Greeks brought the most Evils upon your Family, when it was necessary for me to fight against your Father, and defend my Country. I the same *Man* did him much more Service after I *was* in Safety, and he began to be in Danger. For when he intended not to return into Asia, after the Battle was fought at Salamis, I made him acquainted by a Letter, that it was intended that the Bridge, which he had made over the Hellespont, should be broken down, and he enclosed by his Enemies. By which Advice he was delivered from Danger. But now I have fled to you, being persecuted by all Greece, begging your Friendship, which if I shall obtain, you shall find me a no less good Friend, than he experienced me *to be* a gallant Enemy. And therefore I beg of you, that you would allow me a Year's Time for the Business, concerning which I desire to talk with you; and after that is past, you would suffer me to wait upon you.

Cap. X. Hujus rex animi magnitudinem admirans, cupiensque talem virum sibi conciliari, veniam dedit. Ille omne id tempus literis sermonique Persarum dedit: quibus adeò eruditus est, ut multò commodiùs dicitur apud

Chap. X. *The King admiring the Greatness of his Mind, and desiring to have such a Man gained over effectually to him, granted* him *the Favour. He spent all that Time in the Books and Language of the Persians, in which he was so perfectly instructed, that* he

apud regem verba feciſſe, quam hi poterant, qui in Perſide erant nati. Hic quum multa regi eſſet pollicitus, gratiſſimumque illud, ſi ſuis uti conſiliis vellet, illum Græciam bello oppreſſurum; magnis muneribus ab Artaxerxe donatus in Aſiam rediit domiciliumque Magneſiæ ſibi conſtituit. Namque hanc urbem ei rex donârat, his uſus verbis: Quæ ei panem præberet: ex quâ regione quinquaginta ei talenta quotannis redibant: Lampſacum, unde vinum ſumeret: Myuntem, ex quâ obſonium haberet. Hujus ad noſtram memoriam monumenta manſerunt duo: ſepulchrum, prope oppidum, in quo eſt, ſepultus: ſtatuæ in foro Magneſiæ. De cujus morte multis modus apud pleroſque ſcriptum eſt. Sed nos eundem potiſſimùm Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum ait Magneſiæ morbo mortuum: neque negat fuiſſe famam, venenum ſuâ ſponte ſumſiſſe, quum ſe quæ regi de Græciâ opprimendâ pollicitus eſſet, præſtare poſſe deſperaret. Idem oſſa ejus clam in Atticâ ab

he is ſaid to have ſpoken before the King much more handſomely than thoſe could, who were born in Perſia. After he had promiſed the King many Things, and that which was *the moſt agreeable* of all, *that if he would follow his Advice, he ſhould conquer Greece by War; being preſented with great Gifts by Artaxerxes, he returned into Aſia, and fixed his Habitation at* * *Magneſia. For the King had given him this City, uſing theſe Words, To furniſh him with Bread; out of which Territory fifty Talents came in to him yearly:* † *Lampſacus, from whence he might have his Wine:* ‡ *Myus, from whence he might have his* other *Proviſions. Two Monuments of him have continued to our Times; his Sepulchre nigh the Town in which he was buried, his Statues in the Forum of Magneſia. Concerning whoſe Death an Account is given after different Manners in moſt* Authors. *But we approve of the ſame Author Thucydides above others, who ſays, that he died of a Diſeaſe at Magneſia. Nor does he deny, that there was a Report that he took Poiſon voluntarily, becauſe he deſpaired of being able to perform what he had promiſed the King about* con-

* Magneſia was a Town of Aſia Minor, in that Part of it called Ionia, near the River Meander.

† Lampſacus was a Town of Myſia Minor, in Aſia Minor, near the Helleſpont.

‡ Myus was a Town of Ionia, not far from Magneſia.

ab amicis, eſſe ſepulta, quoniam legibus non concederetur, quòd proditionis eſſet damnatus, memoriæ prodidit.

conquering Greece. The ſame Man *has left upon Record, that his Bones were privately buried in Attica by his Friends, becauſe it was not allowed by the Laws, ſeeing he had been condemned for Treaſon.*



III.

ARISTIDES, Lyſimachi *Filius*, *Athenienſis*.

CAP. I.

ARISTIDES, Lyſimachi filius, Athenienſis, æqualis ferè fuit Themiſtocli. Itaque cùm eo de principatu contendit: namque obtrectârunt inter ſe. In his autem cognitum eſt quantò anteſtaret eloquentia innocentiæ. Quanquam enim adeò excellebat Ariſtides abſtinentiâ, ut unus poſt hominum memoriam, quod quidem nos audiverimus, cognomine JUSTUS fit appellatus, tamen à Themiſtocle collabefactus teſtulâ illâ, exilio decem annorum mulctatus eſt. Qui quidem quum intelligeret reprimi concitatam multitudinem non poſſe, cedenſque animadverteret quendam ſcribentem, ut patriâ pelleretur, quæſiſſe ab eo dicitur, Quare id faceret? aut, Quid Ariſtides commiſiſſet, cur tantâ pœnâ dignus duceretur? Cui ille reſpondit, Se ignorare Ariſtidem, ſed ſibi non placere

III.

ARISTIDES, *the Son of* Lyſimachus, *the Athenian*.

CHAP. I.

ARISTIDES, the Son of Lyſimachus, the Athenian, was almoſt of the ſame Age with Themiſtocles. Wherefore he contended with him for the Superiority: For they endeavoured to leſſen one another. And it was viſible in them, how much Eloquence out-does Innocence. For though Ariſtides did excel ſo much in Juſtice, that he alone, ſince the firſt *Accounts of Mankind that we indeed have heard of, was called by the Surname The JUST: Yet being overborne by Themiſtocles by that Shell, he was puniſhed with the Baniſhment of ten Years. Who truly, when he found that the incenſed People could not be reſtrained, and, going off, obſerved one writing, that he ſhould be baniſhed his Country, is ſaid to have enquired of him, Why he did it? or, What Ariſtides had done, for which he ſhould be thought worthy of ſo great a Puniſhment? To whom he replied, that he did not know Ariſtides, but that it did not pleaſe*

cere, quod tam cupidè elaborâſſet, ut præter cæteros JUSTUS appellaretur. Hic decem annorum legitimam pœnam non pertulit. Nam poſtquam Xerxes in Græciam deſcendit, ſexto ferè anno poſtquam erat expulſus, plebiſcito in patriam reſtitutus eſt.

pleaſe him, that he had laboured ſo earneſtly to be called JUST above other People. He did not ſuffer the legal Puniſhment of ten Years. For after Xerxes came into Greece, about the ſixth Year after he had been baniſhed, he was reſtored to his Country by a Decree of the People.

CAP. II. Interfuit autem pugnæ navali apud Salamina, quæ facta eſt priuſquam pœnâ liberaretur. Idem prætor fuit Athenienſium apud Platæas, in prælio quo Mardonius fuſus, barbarorumque exercitus eſt interfectus. Neque aliud eſt ullum hujus in re militari illuſtre factum, quàm hujus imperii memoria: Juſtitiæ verò, & æquitatis, & innocentiæ multa. Imprimis, quòd ejus æquitate factum eſt, cum in communi claſſe eſſet Græciæ ſimul cum Pauſaniâ, quo duce Mardonius erat fugatus, ut ſumma imperii maritimi ab Lacedæmoniis transferretur ad Athenienſes. Namque ante id tempus, & mari & terrâ duces erant Lacedæmonii. Tum autem & intemperantiâ Pauſaniæ, & juſtitiâ factum eſt Ariſtidis, ut omnes ferè civitates Græciæ ad Athenienſium ſocietatem ſe applicarent, & adverſus barbaros, hos duces deligerent ſibi, quò faciliùs repellerent, ſi fortè bellum renovare conarentur.

CHAP. II. *He was preſent too at the Sea-fight at Salamis, which was fought before he was releaſed from his Puniſhment. The ſame* Man *was Commander of the Athenians at Plateæ, in the Battle in which Mardonius was routed, and the Army of the Barbarians cut off: Nor is there any other illuſtrious Action of his in military Affairs, beſides the Account of this Command: But there are a great many* Inſtances *of his Juſtice, Equity, and Innocence. In the firſt Place, that it was brought about by his Juſtice, when he was in the common Fleet of Greece, together with Pauſanias, by which General Mardonius had been routed, that the Chief Command at Sea was transferred from the Lacedemonians to the Athenians: For before that Time the Lacedemonians were Commanders both by Sea and Land; but then it came to paſs, through the unjuſt Behaviour of Pauſanias, and the Juſtice of Ariſtides, that almoſt all the Cities of Greece applied themſelves to the Alliance of the Athenians, and choſe them for their Leaders againſt the Barbarians, that they might the more eaſily repulſe them, if perhaps*

CAP. III. Ad claſſes ædificandas exercituſque comparandos, quantum pecuniæ quæque civitas daret, Ariſtides delectus eſt, qui conſtitueret. Ejus arbitrio quadringenta & ſexaginta talenta quotannis Delum ſunt collata. Id enim commune ærarium eſſe voluerunt. Quæ omnis pecunia poſtero tempore Athenas tranſlata eſt. Hic quâ fuerit abſtinentiâ, nullum eſt certius indicium, quâm quòd, cum tantis rebus præfuiſſet, in tantâ paupertate deceſſit, ut, quî efferretur, vix reliquerit. Quo factum eſt, ut filiæ ejus publicè alerentur, & de communi ærario, dotibus datis, collocarentur. Deceſſit autem ferè poſt annum quartum quàm Themiſtocles Athenis erat expulſus.

they ſhould endeavour to renew the War.

CHAP. III. *Ariſtides was pitched upon to appoint how much Money every City ſhould furniſh for the building of Fleets, and the raiſing of Armies. By his Order four hundred and ſixty Talents were carried to * Delus every Year; for they ordained that to be the common Treaſury. All which Money, ſome Time after, was removed to Athens. Of how great Juſtice he was, there is no more certain Proof, than that though he had commanded in ſuch great Affairs, he died in ſo great Poverty, that he ſcarcely left wherewith he might be buried. Whence it came to paſs, that his Daughters were maintained at the publick* Charge, *and were diſpoſed of in Marriage, their Fortunes being paid out of the common Treaſury. He died about the fourth Year after Themiſtocles was baniſhed Athens.*

* Delus is an Iſland of the Ægean Sea, one of the Cyclades, formerly very famous for an Oracle of Apollo.

IV.

PAUSANIAS, Lacedæmonius.

CAP. I.

PAUSANIAS magnus homo, ſed varius in omni genere vitæ fuit. Nam ut virtutibus eluxit, ſic vitiis eſt obrutus. Hujus illuſtriſſimum eſt prælium apud Platæas. Namque illo duce Mardonius, ſatrapes regius, natione Medus, regis gener, in primis omnium Perſarum, & manu fortis & conſilii plenus, cum ducentis millibus peditum, quos viritim legerat, & viginti millibus equitum, haud ita magnâ manu Græciâ fugatus eſt: eoque ipſe dux cecidit prælio. Quâ victoriâ elatus plurima miſcere cœpit, & majora concupiſcere. Sed primùm in eo eſt reprehenſus, quod ex præda tripodem aureum Delphis poſuiſſet, epigrammate ſcripto, in

IV.

PAUSANIAS, *the Lacedemonian.*

CHAP. I.

PAUSANIAS was a great Man, but inconſtant in every Way of Life. For as he was illuſtrious for his excellent Qualities, ſo was he overrun with Vices. His moſt famous Battle is that *of Platæa. For he was Commander* there when *Mardonius, the King's* * *Lord Deputy, by Nation a Mede, the King's Son-in-Law, amongſt the Chief of all the Perſians, both brave in Action, and full of good Senſe, was driven out of Greece with two hundred thouſand Foot, which he had choſen out Man by Man, and twenty thouſand Horſe, by an Army not nearly ſo big; and the General himſelf fell in that Battle. With which Victory being elated, he began to make great Confuſion, and to aim at Things above him. But he was firſt of all blamed for this, that he had dedicated a golden*

* *Satrapes* was a Name amongſt the Perſians for the Governors of the Provinces of that Empire.

in quo erat hæc ſententia: *Suo ductu barbaros apud Plataeas eſſe deletos, ejuſque victoriæ ergo Apollini donum dediſſe.* Hos verſus Lacedæmonii exſcalpſerunt, neque aliud ſcripſerunt quàm nomina earum civitatum, quarum auxilio Perſæ erant victi.

Trivet at Delphos, of the Spoil, with an Inſcription written upon it, in which was this Sentence; That the Barbarians, by his Conduct, had been cut off at Plateæ, and that he had made this Preſent to Apollo, upon the Account of that Victory. *The Lacedemonians eraſed theſe Lines, nor did they write any Thing elſe, but the Names of thoſe Cities, by whoſe Aſſiſtance the Perſians had been conquered.*

CAP. II. Poſt id prælium, eundem Pauſaniam cum claſſe communi Cyprum atque Helleſpontum miſerunt, ut ex his regionibus barbarorum præſidia depelleret. Pari felicitate in eâ re uſus, elatiùs ſe gerere cœpit, majoreſque appetere res. Nam quum Byzantio expugnato cepiſſet complures Perſarum nobiles, atque in his nonnullos regis propinquos; hos clam Xerxi remiſit, ſimulans ex vinculis publicis effugiſſe: & cum his Gongylum Eretrienſem, qui literas regi redderet, in quibus hæc fuiſſe ſcripta Thucydides memoriæ prodidit: *Pauſanias dux Spartæ, quos Byzantii ceperat, poſtquam propinquos tuos cognovit,*

CHAP. II. *After that Battle, they ſent the ſame Pauſanias with the common Fleet to * Cyprus and the Helleſpont, to drive the Garriſons of the Barbarians out of thoſe Parts. And having the ſame good Fortune in that Affair, he began to behave himſelf more haughtily, and to aim at greater Matters. For when after the carrying of † Byzantium he had taken many noble Men of the Perſians, and among ſt them, ſome of the King's Relations, he privately ſent thoſe to Xerxes, pretending that they had eſcaped out of the Publick Cuſtody, and with them Gongylus the Eretrian, to carry a Letter to the King, in which, Thucydides writes, theſe Things were written:* Pauſanias, General of Sparta, after he underſtood

* Cyprus is a famous Iſland in the Eaſtern Parts of the Mediterranean.

† Byzantium, a Town upon the Thracian Boſphorus, at the Mouth of the Euxine, now called the Black Sea. It was much enlarged and beautified by the Roman Emperor Conſtantine the Great, and from him called Conſtantinople. It's Name is now Stamboul, being the Metropolis of the Turkiſh Empire.

vit, tibi muneri miſit, ſeque tecum affinitate conjungi cupit. Quare, ſi tibi videtur, des ei filiam tuam nuptum. Id ſi feceris, & Spartam & cæteram Græciam ſub tuam poteſtatem, te adjuvante, ſe redacturum pollicetur. His de rebus ſi quid geri volueris, certum hominem ad eum mittas face, cum quo colliquatur. Rex tot hominum ſalute, tam ſibi neceſſariorum, magnopere gaviſus, confeſtim cum epiſtolâ Artabazum ad Pauſaniam mittit, in quâ eum collaudat, ac petit, ne cui rei parcat ad ea perficienda, quæ pollicetur: ſi fecerit, nullius rei à ſe repulſam laturum. Hujus Pauſanias voluntate cognitâ, alacrior ad rem gerendam factus, in ſuſpicionem cecidit Lacedæmoniorum. In quo facto domum revocatus, accuſatus, capitis abſolvitur: mulctatur tamen pecuniâ. Quam ob cauſam ad claſſem remiſſus non eſt.

derſtood that thoſe, whom he took at Byzantium, were your Relations, has ſent them you as a Preſent, and deſires to be joined in Affinity with you. Wherefore, if it ſeem *good* to you, give him your Daughter in Marriage. If you do that, he promiſes, that with him aſſiſting you, you ſhall reduce both Sparta and the reſt of Greece under your Power. If you would have any of theſe Things done, ſee you ſend a truſty Perſon to him, with whom he may confer about the Matter. *The King, rejoicing mightily at the Security of ſo many Perſons ſo nearly allied to him, diſpatches away immediately Artabazus with a Letter to Pauſanias; in which he commends him, and deſires he would not ſpare any Thing to effect the Matters which he promiſed: If he did it, he ſhould have a Refuſal of nothing from him. Pauſanias having underſtood his Mind, being rendered more forward for the Management of the Affair, fell under the Suſpicion of the Lacedemonians.* In the Middle of *which Tranſaction, being recalled home, and accuſed of this capital Crime, he is acquitted; yet is fined a* Sum *of Money: for which Reaſon he was not ſent back to the Fleet.*

CAP. III. At ille poſt non multò, ſuâ ſponte ad exercitum rediit; & ibi non callidâ ſed dementi ratione cogitata patefecit. Non enim mores patrios ſolùm, ſed etiam cultum

CHAP. III. *But he, not long after, returned to the Army of his own Accord; and there diſcovered his Intentions, not after a cunning but a mad Manner. For he not only laid aſide his Country*

tum veſtitumque mutavit. Apparatu regio utebatur, veſte Medicâ: ſatellites Medi & Ægyptii ſequebantur: epulabatur more Perſarum luxuriosiùs, quàm qui aderant, perpeti poſſent. Aditum petentibus conveniendi non dabat: ſuperbè reſpondebat, & crudeliter imperabat. Spartam redire nolebat. Colonas, qui locus in agro Troade eſt, ſe contulerat: ibi conſilia cum patriæ, tum ſibi, inimica capiebat. Id poſtquam Lacedæmonii reſciverunt, legatos ad eum cum ſcytalâ miſerunt, in qua more illorum erat ſcriptum, niſi domum reverteretur, ſe capitis eum damnaturos. Hoc nuncio motus, ſperans ſe etiam pecuniâ et potentiâ inſtans periculum poſſe depellere, domum rediit. Huc ut venit, ab ephoris in vincula publica conjectus eſt. Licet enim civis ephoro legibus

*Country Manner, but even its Furniture and Dreſs. He had the Equipage of a King, the Median Robe: Median and Egyptian Guards attended him: He feaſted after the Manner of the Perſians, more luxuriouſly than they that were with him could endure: He did not grant Acceſs to thoſe that deſired to wait upon him: He anſwered proudly, and commanded cruelly: He would not return to Sparta: He retired to Colonæ, which Place is in the Territory of * Troas, where he formed Deſigns of pernicious Tendency, both to his Country and himſelf. After the Lacedemonians underſtood it, they ſent Meſſengers to him with a † Scytala; in which was written, after their Faſhion, unleſs he returned home, that they would condemn him to die. Being ſtartled at this Meſſage, hoping that he might keep off the Danger that threatened him, by his Money and his Power, he returned Home. As ſoon as he came here, he was clapped*

* Troas was a Country of Aſia Minor, ſo called from the City of Troy that was in it; it lay along the Helleſpont.

† This Scytala was a white Roll of Parchment wrapped about a black Stick, about nine Cubits long. It was uſed thus: When the Magiſtrates gave Commiſſion to any, as General or Admiral, they took two round Pieces of Wood, of the ſame Size exactly; one of thoſe they kept, the other was given to the Commander, to whom as often as they had Occaſion to ſend any private Diſpatches, they cut a long narrow Scroll of Parchment, and rolling about their own Staff, one Fold cloſe upon another, they wrote their Buſineſs upon it: Then taking it off, ſent it away to the Commander, who applying it to his own Staff, the Folds exactly fell in one with another, as at the Writing; and the Characters, which, before it was wrapped up, were confuſedly disjoined and unintelligible, appeared very plain.

legibus eorum hoc facere regi. Hinc tamen ſe expedivit: neque eo magis carebat ſuſpicione; nam opinio manebat, eum cum rege habere ſocietatem. Eſt genus quoddam hominum, quod Helotes vocatur, quorum magna multitudo agros Lacedæmoniorum colit, ſervorumque munere fungitur. Hos quoquè ſolicitare ſpe libertatis exiſtimabatur. Sed quòd harum rerum nullum erat apertum crimen, quo argui poſſet, non putabant de tali tamque claro viro ſuſpicionibus oportere judicari: ſed expectandum dum ſe ipſa res aperiret.

clapped into publick Cuſtody by the Ephori; for by their Laws it is allowable for any Ephorus to do this to a King. Yet he got himſelf out hence. Nor yet was he the more free from Suſpicion; for this Opinion of him *continued; that he had an Agreement with the* * *King* of Perſia. *There is a certain kind of Men which is called Helots, of which a great Number till the Lands of the Lacedemonians, and perform the Office of Slaves. He was ſuppoſed to ſolicit theſe* to join him, *with the Hopes of Liberty; but becauſe there was no Charge* againſt him, *as to theſe Things, well made out, upon which he might be convicted, they did not think it reaſonable to paſs Sentence upon ſo great and ſo famous a Man, upon Suſpicions; but that they ought to ſtay till the Matter diſcovered itſelf.*

CAP. IV. Interim Argilius quidam adoleſcentulus, quem pueram Pauſanias amore venereo delexerat, quum epiſtolam ab eo ad Artabazum accepiſſet, eique in ſuſpicionem veniſſet, aliquid in eâ de ſe eſſe ſcriptum, quòd nemo eorum rediiſſet, qui ſuper tali causâ eòdem miſſi erant; vincula epiſtolæ laxavit,

CHAP. IV. *In the mean Time one Argilius, a young Man, whom* when *a Boy Pauſanias had loved with a venereal Paſſion, having received a Letter from him to Artabazus; and it coming into his Fancy, that there was ſomething written in it about himſelf, becauſe none of thoſe had come back again, who had been ſent to the ſame Place upon ſuch an Occaſion; he looſed*

* Our Author here imitates the Greek Authors, who uſed to call the King of Perſia ſimply, or by Way of Eminence, *The King*, ſometimes *The Great King*.

vit, ſignoque detracto, cognovit, ſi pertuliſſet, ſibi eſſe pereundum. Erant in eâdem epiſtolâ quæ ad ea pertinebant, quæ inter regem Pauſaniamque convenerant. Has ille literas ephoris tradidit. Non eſt prætereunda gravitas Lacedæmoniorum hoc loco. Nam ne hujus quidem indicio impulſi ſunt, ut Pauſaniam comprehenderent: neque priùs vim adhibendam putaverunt, quàm ſe ipſe indicâſſet. Itaque hujc indici, quid fieri vellent, præceperunt. Fanum Neptuni eſt Tænari, quod violare nefas putant Græci: eò ille index confugit: in arâ conſedit: hanc juxta, locum fecerunt ſub terrâ, ex quo poſſet audiri, ſi quis quid loqueretur cum Argilio. Huc ex ephoris quidam deſcenderunt. Pauſanias, ut audivit Argilium confugiſſe in aram, perturbatus eò venit. Quem quum ſupplicem dei videret in arâ ſedentem, quærit cauſæ quid ſit tam repentini conſilii. Huic ille, quid ex literis comperiſſet, aperit. Tanto magis Pauſanias

*looſed * the String of the Epiſtle, and taking off the Seal, he underſtood if he carried it, he was to periſh. There was in the ſame Epiſtle, what appertained to thoſe Things which had been agreed on betwixt the King and Pauſanias. He delivered this Letter to the Ephori. The † Steadineſs of the Lacedemonians upon this Occaſion is not to be paſſed by. For they were not wrought upon even by his Information, to ſeize Pauſanias; nor did they think any Force was to be uſed againſt him, before he diſcovered himſelf. Wherefore they ordered the Informer what they would have done. There is a Temple of Neptune at Tenarus, which the Greeks account it a moſt heinous Crime to profane. Thither the Informer fled, and ſat upon the Altar. Nigh this they made a Place under Ground, from whence if any one talked any Thing with Argilius, it might be overheard. Some of the Ephori went down into it. Pauſanias, as ſoon as he heard that Argilius was fled to the Altar, came thither in great Diſorder. Whom when he ſaw ſitting upon the Altar as a Suppliant to the God, he aſks*

* The Way of writing Letters was anciently upon wooden Tablets covered with Wax; theſe they uſed to clap together, and tie with a Thread, the Knot of which had a Seal upon it.

† *Gravius* proper ſignifies heavy. And as Things that are heavy are not eaſily moved, thence it was figuratively applied to ſuch as are not apt to alter their Purpoſes, or form Reſolutions, but upon weighty Conſiderations; and agreeably to this Senſe of *Gravis* is *Gravitas* here uſed.

ſanias perturbatus orare cœpit, *ne enunciaret, nec ſe, meritum de illo optimè, proderet. Quod ſi eam veniam ſibi dediſſet, tantiſque implicitum rebus ſublevâſſet, magno eſſe ei præmio futurum.*

aſks what the Reaſon was of this ſudden Reſolution. He tells him what he had diſcovered from the Letter. Pauſanias, being ſo much the more confounded, began to beg, that he would not diſcover it, nor betray him, that had deſerved very well from him; and that if he would but grant him that Favour, and would relieve him *now* entangled in ſuch mighty Difficulties, he ſhould have a conſiderable Reward *for it.*

CAP. V. His rebus ephori cognitis, ſatius putaverunt in urbe eum comprehendi; quò cùm eſſent profecti, & Pauſanias, placato Argilio, (ut putabat) Lacedæmonem reverteretur, in itinere, quum jam in eo eſſet, ut comprehenderetur, è vultu cujuſdam ephori, qui eum admonere cupiebat, inſidias ſibi fieri intellexit. Itaque paucis antè gradibus, quàm qui ſequebantur, in ædem Minervæ, quæ Chalcicœcus vocatur, confugit. Hinc ne exire poſſet, ſtatim ephori valvas ejus ædis obſtruxerunt, tectumque ſunt demoliti, quò facilius ſub dio interiret. Dicitur eo tempore matrem Pauſaniæ vixiſſe; eamque jam magno natu, poſt-

CHAP. V. *The Ephori, having underſtood theſe Things, thought it better to have him ſeized in the City. Whither as they were going, and Pauſanias having pacified Argilius, as he thought, was returning to Lacedemon; in the Way, when he was now upon the Point of being ſeized, he underſtood by the Look of a certain Ephorus, who deſired to acquaint him, that there was a Deſign upon him: Wherefore he fled into the Temple of Minerva, which is called Chalcicœcus, a few Steps before thoſe that followed him. That he might not get out hence, the Ephori blocked up the folding Doors of the Temple, and took off the Roof,* * *that he might die the more eaſily in the open Air. It is ſaid, that the* † *Mother of Pauſanias was living at that Time;* and

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* This Reaſon of our Author's ſeems trifling, and therefore I am apt to think is not the true one: There was, I fancy, ſome Point of Superſtition in the Caſe.

† This Behaviour of a Mother to a Son will appear almoſt incredible to ſuch as are unacquainted with the Temper and Spirit of

poſtquam de ſcelere filii comperit, in primis ad filium claudendum, lapidem ad introitum ædis attuliſſe. Sic Pauſanias magnam belli gloriam turpi morte maculavit. Hic cùm ſemianimis de templo elatus eſſet, confeſtim animam efflavit. Cujus mortui corpus quum eòdem nonnulli dicerent inferri oportere, quò hi qui ad ſupplicium eſſent dati; diſplicuit pluribus; & procul ab eo loco infoderunt, in quo erat mortuus. Inde poſteriùs dei Delphici reſponſo erutus, atque eodem loco ſepultus, ubi vitam poſuerat.

and that ſhe, being now of a great Age, after ſhe had been informed of the Wickedneſs of her Son, brought, amongſt the Foremoſt, a Stone to the Entrance of the Temple, to ſhut up her Son. Thus Pauſanias ſullied the great Glory he had gotten *in the War, by a ſhameful Death. After he had been brought half dead out of the Temple, he immediately breathed out his Soul. The Body of whom being dead, when ſome ſaid it ought to be carried into the ſame Place whither they* were carried, *who were delivered up to* capital *Puniſhment, it diſpleaſed many; and they buried him a great Way from that Place in which he died. He was afterwards taken up, upon an Anſwer of the Delphian Oracle, and buried in the Place where he had ended his Life.*

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of the Lacedemonians, which was very ſingular; but if that be conſidered, there was nothing ſtrange or extraordinary in the Matter. It was cuſtomary with the Mothers, when their Sons went to the War, to deliver them their Shield with theſe Words, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς, *i. e.* Either bring this back, or be brought upon it; as much as to ſay, Loſe your Life rather than this. Nay, there are Authors who tell us, That upon News of the Defeat of a Lacedemonian Army, it was uſual for the Relations of the Slain to meet with all the Signs of Joy, congratulating one another; whilſt the Relations of ſuch as had ſaved themſelves by running away, appeared with dejected, melancholy Looks, or durſt not ſhow their Heads at all for Shame.

V.

CIMON, Miltiadis *filius, Athenienſis.*

Cap. I.

CIMON, Miltiadis filius, Athenienſis, duro admodum initio uſus eſt adoleſcentiæ. Nam quum pater ejus litem æſtimatam populo ſolvere non potuiſſet, ob eamque cauſam in vinculis publicis deceſſiſſet; Cimon eâdem cuſtodiâ tenebatur, neque legibus Athenienſium emitti poterat, niſi pecuniam, quâ pater mulctatus eſſet, ſolviſſet. Habebat autem in matrimonio ſororem ſuam germanam, nomine Elpinicem, non magis amore, quàm patrio more ductus: nam Athenienſibus licet, eodem patre natas, uxores ducere. Hujus conjugii cupidus Callias quidam, non tam generoſus quàm pecunioſus, qui magnas pecunias ex metallis fecerat, egit cum Cimone, ut eam ſibi uxorem daret: id ſi impetrâſſet, ſe pro illo pecuniam ſoluturum. Is cum talem conditionem aſpernaretur, Elpinice negavit ſe paſſuram Miltiadis

V.

CIMON, the Son of Miltiades, *the Athenian.*

Chap. I.

CIMON, the Son of Miltiades, the Athenian, had but *a hard Entrance upon his State of Manhood. For whereas his Father was not able to pay the People his Fine, and for that Reaſon died in the public Gaol; Cimon was confined in the ſame Cuſtody, nor could he be diſcharged by the Laws of the Athenians, unleſs he paid the Sum his Father had been fined. He had in Marriage his Siſter, by Name Elpinice, not more induced* to it *by Love, than the Faſhion of his Country: for it is lawful for the Athenians to marry thoſe* that are *born of the ſame Father. One Callias being deſirous of this Match, not ſo much a Gentleman as a monied* Man, *who had got a great Eſtate by the Mines, dealt with Cimon, to give him her to Wife,* promiſing, *if he obtained that of* him, *that he would pay the Money for him. When he rejected the Offer, Elpinice denied that ſhe would ſuffer the Son of Miltiades to die in the public Gaol; and ſince ſhe could hinder it, that ſhe*

Miltiadis progeniem in vinculis publicis interire; quoniamque prohibere poſſet, ſe Calliæ nupturam. ſi, ea quæ polliceretur, præſtitiſſet.

would marry Callias; if he would perform the Things which he promiſed.

CAP. II. Tali modo cuſtodiâ liberatus Cimon, celeriter ad principatum pervenit. Habebat enim ſatis eloquentiæ, ſummam liberalitatem, magnam prudentiam cùm juris civilis, tum rei militaris, quòd cum patre à puero in exercitu fuerat verſatus. Itaque hic & populum urbanum in ſuâ tenuit poteſtate, & apud exercitum plurimùm valuit auctoritate. Primùm imperator apud flumen Strymona magnas copias Thracûm fugavit, oppidum Amphipolim conſtituit, eòque decem millia Athenienſium in coloniam miſit. Idem iterum apud Mycalem Cyprianorum & Phœnicûm ducentarum navium claſſem devictam cepit: eodemque die pari fortunâ in terrâ uſus eſt. Namque hoſtium navibus captis, ſtatim ex claſſe copias ſuas eduxit, barbarorum uno concurſu maximam vim proſtravit.

CHAP. II. *Cimon, being delivered out of Cuſtody in this Manner, quickly came to the greateſt Eminence. For he had Eloquence enough, the utmoſt Generoſity, great Skill as well in the Civil Law as Military Affairs, becauſe he had been with his Father in the Army, from a Child. Wherefore he both kept the People of the Town at his Command, and ſwayed much by his Authority with the Army. In the firſt Place, being Commander* of the Athenian Forces, *he routed a great Body of the Thracians at the River* * *Strymon, built the Town of* † *Amphipolis, and ſent ten thouſand Athenians as a Colony thither. The ſame Man again at* ‡ *Mycale, took a Fleet of two hundred Ships of the Cypryans and* ‖ *Phœnicians,* which he *conquered*; *and the ſame Day had the like good Fortune by Land. For after he had taken the Enemy's Ships, he immediately drew his Forces out of the Fleet,* and *at one Puſh overthrew a mighty*

* Strymon was a River of Macedonia, nigh the Borders of Thrace.

† Amphipolis was built in an iſland of the River Strymon, from whence it had its Name.

‡ Mycale was a Promontory of Ionia, not far from Epheſus.

‖ The Phœnicians were a People of Aſia upon the Coaſts of the Mediterranean, Eaſtward from Cyprus, famous for their skill in Sea Affairs and a great Traffick they carried on up and down the Mediterranean.

proſtravit. Quâ victoriâ magnâ prædâ potitus, quum domum reverteretur, quòd jam nonnullæ inſulæ propter acerbitatem imperii defecerant, bene animatas confirmavit, alienatas ad officium redire coegit. Scyrum, quam eo tempore Dolopes incolebant quòd contumaciùs ſe geſſerat, vacuefecit: poſſeſſores veteres urbe inſulâque ejecit; agros civibus diviſit. Thaſios, opulentiâ fretos, ſuo adventu fregit. His ex manubiis arx Athenarum, quâ ad meridiem vergit, eſt ornata.

mighty Army of the Barbarians. In which Victory getting a great deal of Plunder, as he was returning home, becauſe now ſome Iſlands had revolted, by reaſon of the Rigour of the Athenian *Government, he fixed the Well-affected, and the Revolters be obliged to return to their Duty. He ſwept Scyrus * of its People, which at that Time the † Dolopes inhabited, becauſe it had behaved itſelf obſtinately; turned the old Inhabitants out of the City and Iſland; divided the Lands amongſt his Citizens. He reduced the ‡ Thaſians, elated with their great Wealth, upon his Arrival* amongſt them. *Out of theſe Spoils the Citadel of Athens was beautified, where it looks to the South.*

Cap. III. Quibus rebus quum unus in civitate maximè floreret, incidit in eandem invidiam, quam pater ſuus, cæterique Athenienſium principes. Nam teſtarum ſuffragiis, quod illi ὀστρακισμὸν vocant, decem annorum exilio mulctatus eſt. Cujus facti celeriùs Athenienſes, quàm ipſum pœnituit. Nam quum ille, forti animo, invidiæ ingratorum civium ceſſiſſet, bellumque Lacedæmonii Athenienſibus indixiſſent; confeſtim notæ ejus virtutis deſiderium

Chap. III. *By which Means, as he made the greateſt Figure in the City, he fell under the ſame Odium, which his Father, and the reſt of the great Men of the Athenians,* had done. *For he was puniſhed with the Baniſhment of ten Years, by the Votes of the Shells, which they call Oſtraciſm. Which Action the Athenians were ſooner ſorry for, than himſelf. For after he had given Way to the Hatred of his ungrateful Countrymen with a gallant Mind, and the Lacedemonians had proclaimed War againſt the Athenians, immediately*

* Scyrus is an Iſland of the Ægean Sea, a little above Eubœa.
† The Dolopes were a People of Theſſaly.
‡ Thaſus is an Iſland of the Ægean Sea, nigh the Coaſt of Thrace.

derium conſecutum eſt. Itaque poſt annum quintum, quo expulſus erat, in patriam revocatus eſt. Ille, quòd hoſpitio Lacedæmoniorum utebatur, ſatiùs exiſtimans, eos & cives ſuos inter ſe unâ voluntate conſentire, quàm armis contendere, Lacedæmonem ſuâ ſponte eſt profectus, pacemque inter duas potentiſſimas civitates conciliavit. Pòſt neque ita multò in Cyprum cum ducentis navibus, imperator miſſus, quum ejus majorem partem inſulæ deviciſſet, in morbum implicitus, in oppido Citio eſt mortuus.

mediately a great Miſs of his known Bravery and Conduct followed. Wherefore he was recalled into his Country, five Years after his Baniſhment. He, becauſe he had a great * *Friendſhip for the Lacedemonians, thinking it better that they and his Countrymen ſhould agree betwixt themſelves in the ſame Mind, than contend together with Arms, went to Lacedemon of his own Accord, and made a Peace betwixt thoſe two moſt powerful States. And not long after, being ſent Admiral into Cyprus with two hundred Ships, after he had conquered the greateſt Part of that Iſland, falling into a Diſtemper, he died in the Town of Citium.*

CAP. IV. Hunc Athenienſes non ſolùm in bello, ſed in pace diu deſideraverant. Fuit enim tantâ liberalitate, quum compluribus locis prædia hortoſque haberet, ut nunquàm eis cuſtodem poſuerit, fructus ſervandi gratiâ, ne quis impediretur, quò minùs ejus rebus, quibus vellet, frueretur. Semper eum pediſſequi cum nummis ſunt ſecuti, ut ſi quis opis ejus indigeret,

CHAP. IV. *The Athenians had a Miſs of him a long Time, not only in War, but in Peace. For he was a* Man *of ſo great Generoſity, that having Eſtates and Gardens in ſeveral Places, he never placed a Keeper, upon Account of preſerving the Fruit, leſt any ſhould be hindered from enjoying his Things as he pleaſed. Footmen always followed him with Money, that if any one ſtood in need of his Aſſiſtance, he might have*

* *Hoſpitium* properly ſignifies Lodging or Entertainment, but is likewiſe uſed for Friendſhip. For in the more early Ages of the World, before the Convenience of publick Inns was thought of, Perſons that travelled lodged in private Houſes, and were obliged to return the Favour to thoſe that entertained them, if Need required. This was the Occaſion of the moſt intimate Friendſhip betwixt the Parties, inſomuch that they treated one another as Relations. Thence the Word *Hoſpitium* came to ſignify Friendſhip founded upon that Bottom.

digeret, haberet, quod ſtatim daret, ne differendo videretur negare. Sæpe, quum aliquem offenſum fortunâ videret minùs bene veſtitum, ſuum amiculum dedit. Quotidie ſic cœna ei coquebatur, ut quos invocatos vidiſſet in foro omnes devocaret: quod facere nullum diem prætermiſit. Nulli fides ejus, nulli opera, nulli res familiaris defuit: multos locupletavit. Complures pauperes mortuos, qui unde efferrentur non reliquiſſent, ſuo ſumptu extulit. Sic ſe gerendo minimè eſt mirandum, ſi & vita ejus fuit ſecura, & mors acerba.

*have to give him immediately, leſt he ſhould ſeem to deny him, by putting him off. Oftentimes when he ſaw any one * ill handled by Fortune, leſs handſomely clad, he gave him his own Coat. His Supper was ſo dreſſed for him every Day, that he invited all whom he ſaw in the Forom, not invited* elſewhere, *which he omitted to do no Day. His Faithfulneſs was wanting to none,* his *Service to none,* his *Eſtate to none: He enriched many. He buried at his own Charge many poor People* when *dead, who had not left wherewith they may be buried. It is not to be wondered at, if upon behaving himſelf thus, both his Life was ſecure, and his Death afflicting.*

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* I am afraid the Latin Text is corrupted here, *Offenſus Fortunâ* being, in my Opinion, no very intelligible Expreſſion.

VI. *LYSANDER,*

VI.

LYSANDER, Lacedæmonius.

CAP. I.

LYSANDER Lacedæmonius magnam reliquit sui famam, magis felicitate, quàm virtute, partam. Athenienses enim in Peloponnesios sexto & vigesimo anno bellum gerentes confeciſſe apparet. Id quâ ratione consecutus sit, latet. Non enim virtute sui exercitûs, sed immodestiâ factum est adversariorum, qui quòd dicto audientes imperatoribus suis non erant, dispalati in agris, relictis navibus in hostium venerunt potestatem. Quo facto Athenienses se Lacedæmoniis dediderunt. Hâc victoriâ Lysander elatus, quum antea semper factiosus, audaxque fuisset, sic sibi indulsit, ut ejus operâ in maximum odium Græciæ Lacedæmonii pervenerint. Nam quum hanc causam Lacedæmonii dictitâssent sibi esse belli, ut Athenien-

sium

VI.

LYSANDER, *the Lacedemonian.*

CHAP. I.

LYSANDER the Lacedemonian left a great Name, got more by his good Fortune than his good Behaviour. For it is apparent, that he conquered the Athenians, carrying on a War againſt the Peloponneſians, in the ſix-and-twentieth Year thereof. But how he effected that is but little known: For it was not brought about by the Valour of his Army, but by the ill Diſcipline of his Enemies; who, becauſe they were not obedient to their Commanders, being diſperſed in the Country, having left their Ships, came under the Power of their Enemies; upon which the Athenians ſubmitted themſelves to the Lacedemonians. Lyſander being elevated with this Victory, having been before always a factious and a bold Man, *gave himſelf ſo much Liberty, that by his Means the Lacedemonians came under a very great Odium of Greece. For whereas the Lacedemonians had ſaid, that their Reaſon*

for

ſium impotentem dominationem refringerent: poſtquam apud Ægos flumen Lyſander claſſis hoſtium eſt potitus, nihil aliud molitus eſt, quàm ut omnes civitates in ſuâ teneret poteſtate, quum id ſe Lacedæmoniorum cauſâ facere ſimularet. Namque undique, qui Athenienſium rebus ſtuduiſſent, ejectis, decem delegerat in unaquâque civitate, quibus ſummum imperium poteſtatemque omnium rerum committeret. Horum in numerum nemo admittebatur, niſi qui aut ejus hoſpitio contineretur, aut ſe illius fore propium fide confirmârat.

for the War was this, that they might curb the * *outrageous Tyranny of the Athenians; after he made himſelf Maſter of the Enemy's Fleet at the River* † *Ægos, he laboured nothing elſe* ſo much, *as that he might have all the Cities at his Devotion, whilſt he pretended he did that upon the Account of the Lacedemonians. For thoſe being every where turned out, who favoured the Intereſt of the Athenians, he choſe ten in every City, to whom he entruſted the ſupreme Authority and Management of all Affairs. Nobody was admitted into their Number, but who either was engaged to* him *by Friendſhip, or aſſured* him *by Promiſe, that he would be entirely his.*

CAP. II. Ita decemvirali poteſtate in omnibus urbibus conſtitutâ, ipſius nutu omnia gerebantur. Cujus de crudelitate ac perfidiâ ſatis eſt unam rem exempli gratiâ proferre, ne de eodem plura enumerando fatigemus lectores. Victor ex Aſiâ quum reverteretur, Thaſumque divertiſſet, quòd ea civitas præcipuâ fide fuerat erga Athenienſes, proinde ac ſi iidem firmiſſimi

CHAP. II. *The Decemviral Authority being thus eſtabliſhed in all Cities, all Things were managed by his Direction. Concerning whoſe Cruelty and Perfidiouſneſs it is ſufficient to produce one Inſtance, for Example's Sake, leſt we ſhould tire our Readers, by reckoning up many concerning the ſame Man. When he returned victorious out of Aſia, and had taken a Turn to Thaſus, becauſe that had been a State of extraordinary Fidelity to*

I *the*

* *Impotens* ſignifies *weak* or *wanting Power* properly, yet is oftentimes applied to Perſons in the greateſt Power, as Kings and Princes; but then they are conſidered as under the Influence and Command of their Paſſions, and wanting Power to govern themſelves, and keep within Bounds; thence it ſignifies *Extravagant, Proud, Intolerable,* as here.

† A River of Thrace falling into the Helleſpont.

firmiſſimi ſolerent eſſe amici, qui conſtantes fuiſſent inimici, eam pervertere concupivit. Vidit autem, niſi in eo occultaſſet voluntatem, futurum, ut Thaſii dilaberentur, conſulerentque rebus ſuis. ****

the Athenians, as if thoſe uſed to be the faſteſt Friends, who had been reſolute Enemies, he was deſirous to reduce it; but he ſaw, that unleſs he concealed his Deſign, it would come to paſs, that the Thaſians would ſlip away, and provide for their own Security. ****

CAP. III. Itaque decemvitalem ſuam poteſtatem, ſui ab illo conſtitutam ſuſtulerunt. Quo dolore incenſus iniit conſilia reges Lacedæmoniorum tollere, ſed ſentiebat id ſe ſine ope deorum facere non poſſe, quòd Lacedæmonii omnia ad oracula referre conſueverant. Primùm itaque Delphos corrumpere eſt conatus. Quum id non potuiſſet, Dodonam adortus eſt. Hinc quoque repulſus, dixit ſe vota ſuſcepiſſe, quæ Jovi Hammoni ſolveret, exiſtimans ſe Afros faci-

CHAP. III. *Wherefore his* Countrymen *aboliſhed his Decemviral Authority ſet up by him; with which Provocation being fired, he entered into a Deſign to take away the* * *Kings of the Lacedemonians; but was ſenſible he could not do that without the Help of the Gods, becauſe the Lacedemonians had been accuſtomed to propoſe all Things to the Oracles. Wherefore firſt he attempted to* † *corrupt Delphos: When he could not* effect *that, he tried* ‡ *Dodona: being rejected here too, he ſaid he had made a Vow, which he muſt pay to* ‖ *Jupiter Ham-*

* The Lacedemonians had two Kings at once, both of the Poſterity of Hercules. They uſed to command their Armies, and were indeed more properly Generals only, than Kings; for their Power in the Government was but ſmall, being ſubjected to the Cenſure of, and liable to be depoſed by, the Magiſtrates called *Ephori*.

† It may ſeem a little wonderful, that theſe Oracle-mongers ſhould all prove ſo backward to comply with Lyſander, ſince they might, it is likely, have been well paid for it, and their only Buſineſs and Trade was to tell Lies, and take Money. They muſt have looked upon his Deſign as raſh, deſperate, and impracticable; as what would bring them under a ſtrong Suſpicion of Corruption, leſſen their Authority, and ſpoil their Trade; otherwiſe, no doubt, they would have been glad enough to finger his Money.

‡ Dodona was a City in Epire, famous for an Oracle of Jupiter.

‖ The Oracle of Jupiter Hammon was in the Deſerts of Lybia, on the Weſt of Egypt.

faciliùs corrupturum. Hâc ſpe quum profectus eſſet in Africam, multùm eum antiſtites Jovis fefellerunt: nam non ſolùm corrumpi non potuerunt, ſed etiam legatos Lacedæmona miſerunt, qui Lyſandrum accuſarent, quòd ſacerdotes fani corrumpere conatus eſſet. Accuſatus hoc crimine, judicumque abſolutus ſententiis, Orchomeniis miſſus ſubſidio, occiſus eſt à Thebanis apud Haliartum. Quàm verè de eo foret judicatum, oratio indicio fuit, quæ poſt mortem in domo ejus reperta eſt; in quâ ſuadet Lacedæmoniis, ut regiâ poteſtate diſſolutâ, ex omnibus dux deligatur ad bellum gerendum: ſed ita ſcripta, ut deorum videretur congruere ſententiæ, quam ille ſe habiturum, pecuniâ fidens, non dubitabat. Hanc ei ſcripſiſſe Cleon Halicarnaſſeus dicitur.

*Hammon, thinking he ſhould more eaſily bribe the Africans. When he was come into Africa with theſe Hopes, the Prieſts of Jupiter deceived him much; for they not only could not be bribed, but likewiſe ſent Deputies to Lacedemon, to accuſe Lyſander of having endeavoured to bribe the Prieſts of the Temple. Being impeached for this Crime, and acquitted by the Votes of his Judges, he was ſent to the Relief of the * Orchomenians, and ſlain by the Thebans at † Haliartus. How truly they have judged of him, a Speech of his was a Proof, which was found in his Houſe after his Death; in which he adviſes the Lacedemonians, that diſſolving the Regal Authority, a General ſhould be choſen from among them all, to carry on the War; but ſo written, that it ſeemed to agree with the Advice of the Gods, which he, truſting to his Money, did not doubt he ſhould have. Cleon of Halicarnaſſus is ſaid to have written this for him.*

CAP. IV. Atque hoc loco non eſt prætereundum factum Pharnabazi, ſatrapis regii. Nam quum Lyſander, præfectus claſſis, in bello multa crudeliter avarèque feciſſet, deque his rebus ſuſpicaretur ad cives ſuos eſſe perlatum: petiit à Pharnabazo, ut ad Ephoros

CHAP. IV. *And in this Place an Action of the* King of Perſia's *Viceroy, Pharnabazus, is not to be paſſed by. For when Lyſander, being Admiral of the Fleet, had done many Things in the War cruelly and covetouſly, and ſuſpected that Advice had been carried to his Countrymen of thoſe Things;*

I 2 *he*

* The Orchomenians were a People of Bœotia.
† Haliartus, a City of Bœotia.

Ephoros ſibi teſtimonium daret, quantâ ſanctitate bellum geſſiſſet, ſocioſque tractâſſet, deque eâ re accuratè ſcriberet; magnam enim ejus auctoritatem in eâ re futuram. Huic ille liberaliter pollicetur: librum gravem multis verbis conſcripſit, in quo ſummis eum effert laudibus. Quem, cùm legiſſet, probâſſetque, dum obſignatur, alterum pari magnitudine, ut diſcerni non poſſet, ſignatum ſubjecit, in quo accuratiſſimè ejus avaritiam perfidiamque accuſârat. Hinc Lyſander domum quum rediſſet, poſtquam de ſuis rebus geſtis apud maximum magiſtratum, quæ voluerat, dixerat, teſtimonii loco librum à Pharnabazo datum tradidit. Hunc, ſummoto Lyſandro, quum Ephori cognôſſent, ipſi legendum dederunt. Ita ille imprudens ipſe ſuus fuit accuſator.

he requeſted of Pharnabazus, that he would give him a Teſtimonial to the Ephori, with how much Integrity he had carried on the War, and treated their Allies, and that he would write fully as to that Matter, for that his Authority would be great in that Caſe. He promiſes him frankly, wrote a large Letter in many Words, in which he extols him with the higheſt Praiſes; which when he had read, and approved, whilſt it was ſealing, he put into its Room another of the like Bigneſs, that it could not be diſtinguiſhed from it, ready ſigned; in which he had charged him very particularly with his Covetouſneſs and Treachery. After this, when Lyſander was come Home, after he had ſaid what he had a Mind before the chief Magiſtrate, concerning his Exploits, he delivered the Letter given him by Pharnabazus, by Way of Teſtimonial. Lyſander being ordered to withdraw, when the Ephori had looked it over, they gave it him to read; ſo he was unawares his own Accuſer.

VII. *ALCI-*

VII.

ALCIBIADES, Cliniæ filius, Athenienſis.

CAP. I.

ALCIBIADES, Cliniæ filius, Athenienſis: in hoc natura quid efficere poſſit, videtur experta. Conſtat enim inter omnes, qui de eo memoriæ prodiderunt, nihil illo fuiſſe excellentius vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus. Natus in ampliſſimâ civitate, ſummo genere, omnium ætatis ſuæ multo formoſiſſimus: ad omnes res aptus, conſiliique plenus. Namque imperator fuit ſummus mari & terrâ diſertus, ut in primis dicendo valeret: & tanta erat commendatio oris atque orationis, ut nemo ei dicendo poſſet reſiſtere. Idem, quum tempus poſceret, laborioſus, patiens, liberalis, ſplendidus, non minùs in vitâ quam victu: affabilis, blandus temporibus callidiſſimè inſerviens. Idem, ſimul ac ſe remiſerat, nec cauſa ſubera quare animi laborem perferret, luxurioſus, diſſolutus, libidinoſus,

VII.

ALCIBIADES, the Son of Clinias, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

ALCIBIADES, the Son of Clinias, the Athenian: Nature ſeems to have tried in him what ſhe could do. For it is agreed upon, amongſt all who have written about him, that nobody was more extraordinary than he, either in Vices or in Virtues. Being born in a very great City, of a great Family, much the handſomeſt Man of all his Time: fit for all Things, and abounding in Senſe for the Management of Affairs. For he was a very great Commander, both by Sea and Land; ſo eloquent, that he mightily prevailed in ſpeaking: And ſuch was the Plauſibleneſs of his Elocution and Language, that in haranguing nobody was able to ſtand before him. The ſame Man, when Occaſion required, was laborious, hardy, generous, ſplendid, no leſs in his Equipage, than his Diet; affable, fawning, very cunningly ſerving the Times. The ſame Man, when he had unbent himſelf, and there was no Reaſon

uſe

dinoſus, intemperans reperiebatur: ut omnes admirarentur, in uno homine tantam ineſſe diſſimilitudinem, tamque diverſam naturam.

why he ſhould take upon him any *Labour of Thought, was found to be luxurious, diſſolute, luſtful, and intemperate; inſomuch that all admired, that in the ſame Man there ſhould be ſo much unlikeneſs* to himſelf, *and ſo different a Nature.*

CAP. II. Educatus eſt in domo Periclis, privignus enim ejus fuiſſe dicitur, eruditus à Socrate. Socerum habuit Hipponicum, omnium Græcæ linguæ eloquentiâ diſertiſſimum; ut ſi ipſe fingere vellet, neque plura bona reminiſci, neque majora poſſet conſequi, quàm vel fortuna vel natura tribuerat. Ineunte adoleſcentiâ, amatus eſt à multis, more Græcorum; in eis à Socrate, de quo mentionem facit Plato in Sympoſio: namque eum induxit commemorantem ſe pernoctâſſe cum Socrate, neque aliter ab eo ſurrexiſſe, ac filius à parente debuerit. Poſteaquam robuſtior eſt factus, non minùs multos amavit, in quorum amore, quoad licitum eſt, odioſa multa delicatè jocoſèque fecit: que referremus, niſi majora potioraque haberemus.

CHAP. II. *He was educated in the Houſe of Pericles (for he is ſaid to have been his Step-ſon) inſtructed by* * *Socrates. He had for his Father-in-law Hipponicus, of all Men the ableſt in the Eloquence of the Greek Language; that if he would have contrived* for himſelf, *he could neither have thought of more* Advantages, *nor have compaſſed greater, than either Fortune or Nature had beſtowed* upon him. *In the Entrance upon his Manhood he was beloved by many, after the Faſhion of the Greeks: and amongſt them by Socrates, of whom Plato makes mention in his Sympoſium: For he has brought him in relating, that he lay all Night with Socrates, and roſe from him no otherwiſe than a Son ought to do from his Father. After he was grown more a Man, he loved as many, in the Love of whom, ſo far as it was allowable* by the Laws, *he did many odious Things wantonly and jocoſely; which we ſhould relate, but that we have greater and better* Things to relate of him.

CAP. CHAP.

* This *Socrates* was the greateſt Man amongſt the Ancients: Such a complete Maſter of his Paſſions, that one of the greateſt Misfortunes that can befal a good Man, a ſcolding Wife, was not able to diſcompoſe, or put him out of Temper in the leaſt.

CAP. III. Bello Peloponneſiaco, hujus conſilio atque auctoritate Athenienſes bellum Syracuſanis indixerunt: ad quod gerendum ipſe dux delectus eſt. Duo præterea collegæ dati, Nicias & Lamachus. Id quum appararetur, priuſquam claſſis exiret, accidit, ut unâ nocte omnes Hermæ, qui in oppido erant Athenis, dejicerentur, præter unum, qui ante januam Andocidis erat, Andocidiſque Hermes vocatus eſt. Hoc quum appareret, non ſine magnâ multorum conſenſione eſſe factum, quòd non ad privatam, ſed ad publicam rem pertineret, magnus multitudini timor eſt injectus, ne qua repentina vis in civitate exiſteret, quæ libertatem opprimeret populi. Hoc maximè convenire in Alcibiadem videbatur, quod & potentior & major, quàm privatus exiſtimabatur. Multos enim liberalitate devinxerat, plures etiam operâ forenſi

CHAP. III. In the * *Peloponneſian War, by his Advice and Perſuaſion, the Athenians proclaim War againſt the* † *Syracuſans; for the Management of which he was choſen General. Two Colleagues beſides were given him, Nicias and Lamachus. Whilſt that* Expedition *was preparing for, before the Fleet went out, it happened, that in one Night all the* ‡ *Mercuries which were in the Town of Athens, were thrown down, except one, which was before the Door of Andocides, and was called the Mercury of Andocides. As it appeared, this was not done without a ſtrong Confederacy of many, becauſe it did not appertain to a private, but a publick Concern, a mighty Terrour fell upon the People, leſt a ſudden Violence ſhould break out in the City, that ſhould bear down the Liberty of the People. This ſeemed chiefly to agree to Alcibiades, becauſe he was thought both more powerful and greater than a private Perſon: For he had obliged many by his Generoſity, and rendered*

* This Peloponneſian War was ſo called, becauſe all the States of Peloponneſus joined in it, under the Command of the Lacedemonians, againſt the Athenians. It began in the Year before Chriſt 403, and ended in the taking of Athens, after the fatal Battle of the River Ægos, mentioned above, in the Year before Chriſt 430.

† Syracuſe is ſtill a noted City on the Eaſtern Coaſt of the Iſle of Sicily.

‡ Mercury was reckoned the God of Thieves, and therefore they uſed to erect his Statues before their Doors, by Way of Prevention, againſt the Attempts of Robbers and Houſe-breakers.

renſi ſuos reddiderat. Quâ re fiebat, ut omnium oculos, quotieſcunque in publicum prodîſſet, ad ſe converteret, neque ei par quiſquam in civitate poneretur. Itaque non ſolùm in eo ſpem habebant maximam, ſed etiam timorem, quòd & obeſſe plurimùm, & prodeſſe poterat. Aſpergebatur etiam infamiâ, quòd in domo ſuâ facere myſteria dicebatur, quod nefas erat more Athenienſium; idque non ad religionem, ſed ad conjurationem pertinere exiſtimabatur.

rendered more his Friends, by his ſerving them in their Law Concerns. By which Means it came to paſs, that he turned the Eyes of all People upon him, as oft as he went abroad; nor was any one counted equal to him in the whole *City. Wherefore they not only had great Hopes in him, but a* great *Apprehenſion* of him *too, becauſe he was able both to do them a great deal of Miſchief, and* a great deal *of Service. He was likewiſe beſpattered with Infamy, becauſe it was ſaid, that he celebrated the* * *Myſteries in his own Houſe, which was a heinous Crime, according to the Uſage of the Athenians; and that was ſuppoſed not to concern Religion* ſo much, *as* to be an Argument of *a Conſpiracy.*

CAP. IV. Hoc crimine in concione ab inimicis compellabatur. Sed inſtabat tempus ad bellum proficiſcendi. Id ille intuens, neque ignorans civium ſuorum conſuetudinem, poſtulabat, ut ſi quid de ſe agi vellent, potiùs de præſenti quæſtio haberetur, quàm abſens invidiæ crimine accuſaretur. Inimici verò ejus quieſcendum in præſenti, quia

CHAP. IV. *He was charged with this Crime in an Aſſembly of* the People, *by his Enemies: But the Time for going to the War was at hand. He conſidering that, and being not ignorant of the Cuſtom of his Countrymen, inſiſted, that if they had a Mind to do any Thing about him, an Enquiry might be made about him* whilſt *preſent, rather than that he ſhould be charged with an invidious Crime* when *abſent. But his*

* Rites, ſecretly performed in Honour of any God, were called *Myſteries*. Thoſe here meant are the Myſteries of Ceres, worſhipped in a ſingular Manner at Eleuſis in Attica, nigh the Saronick Bay. None were admitted to the Celebration of theſe or any other *Myſteria*, but upon certain Conditions, one of which was an Oath of Secrecy.

quia nocere ſe ei non poſſe intelligebant, & illud tempus expectandum decreverunt, quo exîſſet, ut ſic abſentem aggrederentur; itaque fecerunt. Nam poſtquam in Siciliam eum perveniſſe crediderunt, abſentem, quòd ſacra violâſſet, reum fecerunt. Quâ de re quum ei nuncius a magiſtratu in Siciliam miſſus eſſet, ut domum ad cauſam dicendam rediret, eſſetque in ma nâ ſpe provinciæ benè adminiſtrandæ; non parere noluit, & in triremem, quæ ad eum deportandum erat miſſa, aſcendit: ac Thurios in Italiam pervectus, multa ſecum reputans de immoderatâ civium ſuorum licentiâ crudelitateque erga nobiles: utiliſſimùm ratus impendentem evitare tempeſtatem, clam ſe à cuſtodibus ſubduxit, & inde primum Elidem, deinde Thebas, venit. Poſtquam autem ſe capitis damnatum, bonis publicatis, audivit, & quod uſu venerat, Eumolpidas ſacerdotes à populo coactos, ut ſe devoverent, ejuſque devotionis quò teſtatior eſſet memoria exemplum in pilâ lapideâ inciſum, eſſe poſitum in publico, Lacedæmonem demigravit. Ibi (ut ipſe prædicare

his Enemies reſolved to be quiet for the preſent, becauſe they were ſenſible they could not hurt him, and to wait the Time when he ſhould go out, that ſo they might attack him when *abſent. And ſo they did. For after they believed he was got into Sicily, they impeached him,* though *abſent, for having profaned the Holy* Myſteries. *Concerning which Affair, when a Meſſenger was diſpatched to him into Sicily by the Government, that he ſhould return Home to plead his Cauſe, and he was in great Hopes of managing his Province ſucceſsfully, he would not diſobey, and went on board a Ship with three Banks of Oars, which was ſent to bring him away; and arriving at* * *Thurii in Italy, conſidering much with himſelf of the extravagant Licentiouſneſs of his Countrymen, and their Cruelty towards Men of Quality, judging it the moſt expedient to avoid the impending Storm, he privately withdrew himſelf from his Keepers, and went from thence firſt to* † *Elis, and afterwards to* ‡ *Thebes. But after he heard that he was condemned to die, his Eſtate being confiſcated, and, which had been uſual, that the Prieſts* called *Eumolpidæ had been forced by the People to curſe him, and that the Monument of that Curſe might be more publick, a Copy*

* A City in the Country of the Brutii in the Bottom of Italy.
† A City in the Weſt Parts of Peloponneſus.
‡ A City in the Weſt Parts of Achaia, North of Athens, and the Metropolis of the Country called Bœotia.

tium; neque minùs multas consilio ad amicitiam adjunxerant, quod in captos clementiâ fuerant usi. Inde prædâ onusti, locupletato exercitu, maximis rebus gestis, Athenas venerunt.

with his Fellow Commanders, had recovered Ionia, the Hellespont, and many Greek Cities besides, that are on the Border of Asia, several of which they took by Force; amongst these Byzantium. Nor had they brought over fewer to their Alliance by their good Conduct, because they used great Clemency to the Conquered. After this being laden with Spoil, having enriched their Army, and performed very great Things, they came to Athens.

CAP. VI. His cum obviam universa civitas in Pyræeum descendisset, tanta fuit omnium expectatio visendi Alcibiadis, ut ad ejus triremem vulgus confluerit, perinde, ac si solus advenisset. Sic enim populo erat persuasum, & adversas superiores, & præsentes secundas res, acciditse ejus operâ. Itaque & Siciliæ amissum, & Lacedæmoniorum victorias, culpæ suæ tribuebant, quòd talem virum è civitate expulissent. Neque id sine causâ arbitrari videbantur. Nam postquam exercitui præesse cœperat, neque terrâ, neque mari, hostes pares esse potuerant. Hic ut navi egressus est, quanquam Theramenes et Thrasybulus eisdem rebus præfuerant, simulque venerant in Piræeum, tamen illum unum omnes prosequebantur: & (id quod nunquam antea usu venerat,

CHAP. VI. *When the whole City came down to Pyræus, to meet them, such was the Longing of all People to see Alcibiades, that the Commonalty flocked to his Ship, as if he had come alone. For thus the People were perswaded, that both their former ill* Success, *and their present good* Success, *had happened thro' his Means. Wherefore they imputed both the Loss of Sicily, and the Victories of the Lacedemonians, to their own Fault, because they had banished such a Man out of their City. Nor did they seem to think so without Reason: For after he began to command the Army, their Enemies were neither able to be a Match* for them *by Land nor Sea. As soon as he went out of his Ship, tho' Theramenes and Thrasybulus had been in the same Command, and had come together* with him into *Pyræeus, yet they all followed him alone; and (that which had never happened before, unless to the*

Con-

venerat, niſi Olympiæ victoribus) coronis aureis æreiſque vulgò donabatur. Illi lachrymans talem benevolentiam civium ſuorum accipiebat, reminiſcens priſtini temporis acerbitatem. Poſtquam aſtu venit, concione advocatâ, ſic verba fecit, ut nemo tam ferus fuerit, quin ejus caſum lachrymarit, inimicumque his ſe offenderit, quorum operâ patriâ pulſus fuerat; perinde ac ſi alius populus, non ille ipſe qui tum flebat, eum ſacrilegii damnâſſet. Reſtituta ergo huic ſunt publicè bona iidemque illi Eumolpidæ ſacerdotes cursus deſecrare ſunt coacti, qui eum devoverant; pilæque illæ, in quibus devotio fuerat ſcripta, in mare præcipitatæ.

Conquerors at Olympia) he was commonly preſented with golden and brazen Crowns. He received this Kindneſs of his Countrymen weeping, remembering their Severity. ſome Time before. After he came to the City, having called an Aſſembly, he ſpoke ſo, that no Body was ſo cruel, but he lamented his hard Hap, and declared himſelf an Enemy to thoſe, by whoſe Means he had been baniſhed his Country; as if ſome other People, and not that very ſame which then wept, had condemned him for Sacrilege. Wherefore his Eſtate was reſtored him at the publick Charge, and the ſame Prieſts, called Eumolpidæ, who had curſed him, were obliged to recall their Curſes; and the Pillars, upon which the Curſe had been written, were thrown into the Sea.

CAP. VII. Hæc Alcibiadi lætitia minùs fuit diuturna. Nam quum ei eſſent omnes honores decreti, totaque reſpublica domi bellique tradita, ut unius arbitrio gereretur; & ipſe poſtulâſſet, ut duo ſibi collegæ darentur, Thraſybulus & Adimantus, neque id negatum eſſet; claſſe in Aſiam profectus, quòd apud Cymen minùs ex ſententia rem geſſerat, in invidiam recidit; nihil enim eum non efficere poſſe ducebant. Ex quo fiebat ut omnia minùs proſperè gerta ejus culpæ tribuerent, quum eum aut negligenter, aut

CHAP. VII. *This Joy of Alcibiades was not laſting; for after all* manner of *Honours had been voted for him, and the whole Management both at Home and in the War, delivered to him, to be carried on at the Pleaſure of* him *alone, and he had demanded, that two Partners ſhould be given him, Thraſybulus and Adimantus, nor was that denied* him; *going with the Fleet into Aſia, becauſe he did not manage his Buſineſs at Cyme to their Mind, he again fell under their Hatred; for they thought he could do every Thing. From whence it was, that they imputed all Things, leſs ſucceſsfully managed, to his Fault, becauſe they ſaid he either*

aut malitiosè feciſſe loquerentur, ſicut tum accidit. Nam corruptum à rege, capere Cymen noluiſſe arguebant. Itaque huic maximè putamus malo fuiſſe nimiam opinionem ingenii atque virtutis. Timebatur enim non minùs quam diligebatur, ne ſecundâ fortunâ, magniſque elatus opibus, tyrannidem concupiſceret. Quibus rebus factum eſt, ut abienti magiſtratum abrogarent, & alium in ejus locum ſubſtituerent. Id ille ut audivit, domum reverti noluit, & ſe Perinthum contulit, ibique tria caſtella communivit, Bornos, Byziam, Macrontichos; manuque collectâ primus Græciæ in Thraciam introiit, glorioſius exiſtimans barbarorum prædâ locupletari, quàm Grajorum. Quâ ex re creverat ejus fama cum opibus, magnamque amicitiam ſibi cum quibuſdam regibus Thraciæ pepererat.

either acted careleſsly or maliciouſly; as it then happened. For they alledged againſt him, that, being bribed by the King of Perſia, *he would not take* * *Cyme. Wherefore we think that their exceſſive Opinion of his Parts and Abilities was chiefly his Misfortune. For, he was no leſs feared than beloved, leſt being elevated by his good Fortune and great Power, he ſhould aim at the Sovereignty. By which Means it came to paſs, that they took his Commiſſion from him in his Abſence, and put another in his Place. As ſoon as he heard that, he would not return Home, and betook himſelf to* † *Perinthus, and there fortified three Caſtles, Borni, Byzia,* and *Macrontichos; and having got together a Body of Troops, he entered into Thrace* ‡ *the firſt* Man *of Greece, thinking it more glorious to be enriched with the Spoils of the Barbarians, than the Greeks. From which Thing his Fame grew with his Riches, and he procured to himſelf a ſtrong Alliance with ſeveral Kings of Thrace.*

CAP. VIII. Neque tamen à charitate patriæ potuit recedere. Nam quum apud Ægos flumen Philocles prætor Athenienſium claſſem con-

CHAP. VIII. *However, he could not recede from his Affection for his Country. For when Philocles, the Admiral of the Athenians, had drawn up his Fleet at the*

* A Town of Æolia in Aſia Minor, upon the Ægean Sea.

† A Town of Thrace, upon the Propontis, afterwards called Heraclea.

‡ Our Author is here guilty of a ſtrange Piece of Forgetfulneſs, having told us above, that Miltiades had before planted a Colony in the Thracian Cherſoneſe, and made frequent Inroads into the neighbouring Country of the Thracians.

conſtituiſſet ſuam, neque longè abeſſet Lyſander prætor Lacedæmoniorum, qui in eo erat occupatus, ut bellum quàm diutiſſimè duceret, quòd ipſis pecunia à rege ſuppeditabatur: contra, Athenienſibus exhauſtis, præter arma & naves, nihil erat ſuper: Alcibiades ad Athenienſium venit exercitum, ibique, preſente vulgo, agere cœpit, ſi vellent, ſe coacturum Lyſandrum aut dimicare, aut pacem petere; Lacedæmonios eò nolle confligere claſſe, quòd pedeſtribus copiis pluſquam navibus valerent: Sibi autem eſſe facile Suthen regem Thracùm deducere, ut eos terrâ depelleret. Quo facto neceſſariò aut claſſe conflicturos, aut bellum compoſituros. Id etſi verè dictum Philocles animadvertebat, tamen poſtulata facere noluit, quòd ſentiebat ſe, Alcibiade recepto, nullius momenti apud exercitum futurum; & ſi quid ſecundi eveniſſet, nullam in eâ re ſuam partem fore: contra eâ, ſi quid adverſi accidiſſet, ſe unum ejus delicti futurum reum. Ab hoc diſcedens, Alcibiades, *Quoniam*, inquit, *victoriæ patriæ repugnas, illud monio, juxta hoſtes caſtra habeas nautica. Periculum eſt enim ne immodeſtiâ militum noſtrorum occaſio detur Lyſandro noſtri opprimendi exercitus.* Nec quæ res illum fefellit. Nam Lyſander, quum per ſpeculatores com-

the River Ægos, and Lyſander was not far off, the Admiral of the Lacedemonians, who was employed wholly in a Deſign to protract the War as long as poſſible, becauſe Money was given them by the King of Perſia; *on the other hand, the Athenians being exhauſted had nothing left beſides their Arms and their Ships: Alcibiades came to the Army of the Athenians, and there, before the common Soldiery, he began to tell them, that, if they pleaſed, he would force Lyſander either to fight or beg for Peace; that the Lacedemonians were unwilling to engage with their Fleet for this Reaſon, becauſe they were ſtronger in Land Forces than Ships; but that it was an eaſy Matter for him to bring down Seuthes, King of the Thracians, to drive them from the Land; upon which they would of Neceſſity either engage with their Fleet, or make an End of the War. Tho' Philocles obſerved that was rightly ſaid, yet he would not do the Things deſired, becauſe he was ſenſible, that if Alcibiades was received* amongſt them, *he ſhould be of no Account with the Army; and if any good Succeſs happened* upon it, *that his Share in the Matter would be none at all: On the other hand if any ill Hap ſhould fall out, that he alone ſhould be called to an Account for the Miſcarriage.* Alcibiades, upon his *departing from him, ſaid,* Since you oppoſe your Country's Succeſs, this however I adviſe you, to have your Sea-Camp nigh the Enemy; for the Danger

comperiſſet, vulgum Athenienſium in terram prædatum exiſſe, navesque penè inanes relictas, tempus rei gerendæ non dimiſit, eoque impetu totum bellum delevit.

Danger is, leſt, by the diſorderly Behaviour of our Soldiers, an Opportunity ſhould be given Lyſander of cutting off our Army. *Nor did that Thing deceive him; for Lyſander, after he had found by his Scouts, that the common Soldiers of the Athenians were gone aſhore plundering, and that the Ships were left almoſt empty, did not let ſlip the Opportunity of doing his Buſineſs, and at that Puſh made an End of the whole War.*

CAP. IX. At Alcibiades, victis Atheniensibus, non ſatis tuta eadem loca ſibi arbitratus, penitùs in Thraciam ſe ſupra Propontidem abdidit, ſperans ibi facillimè ſuum fortunam occulere poſſe; ſed falso. Nam Thraces, poſtquam eum cum magnâ pecuniâ veniſſe perſenſerunt, inſidias ei fecerunt; qui ea quæ apportavit abſtulerunt, ipſum capere non potuerunt. Ille cernens nullum locum ſibi tutum in Græciâ, propter potentiam Lacedæmoniorum, ad Pharnabazum in Aſium tranſit; quem quidem adeò ſua cepit humanitate, ut eum nemo in amicitiâ antecederet. Namque ei Grunium dedit in Phrygiâ caſtium, ex quo quinquaginta talenta vectigalis capiebat. Quâ fortunâ

CHAP IX. *But Alcibiades, after the Athenians were conquered, not thinking the ſame Places ſecure enough for him, hid himſelf a good Way up in Thrace, above the Propontis, hoping that his Condition might be very eaſily concealed there; but falſly. For the Thracians, after they perceived he was come with a great deal of Money, laid an Ambuſh for him, who got the Things which he brought with him.* but *could not catch him. He perceiving no Place was ſafe for him in Greece, by reaſon of the Power of the Lacedemonians, went over to Pharnabazus into Aſia, whom he ſo charmed with his courteous Behaviour, that nobody exceeded him in his Friendſhip. For he gave him Grunium,* a *Caſtle in Phrygia, from which he received* yearly *fifty* * *Talents Revenue; with which good Fortune Alcibiades*

* The Talent uſed in common Reckoning, was that of Attica, worth about 208*l.*

nâ Alcibiades non erat contentus, neque Athenas victas Lacedæmoniis ſervire poterat pati. Itaque ad patriam liberandam omni ferebatur cogitatione, ſed videbat id ſine rege Perſarum non poſſe fieri: ideoque eum amicum ſibi cupiebat adjungi: neque dubitabat facilè ſe conſecuturum, ſi modo ejus conveniendi habuiſſet poteſtatem. Nam Cyrum fratrem ei bellum clam parare, Lacedæmoniis adjuvantibus, ſciebat. Id ſi ei aperuiſſet, magnam ſe ab eo initurum gratiam videbat.

*biades was not content, nor could he endure, that conquered Athens ſhould be ſubject to the Lacedemonians. Wherefore he was bent, with the utmoſt Concern, upon delivering his Country; but ſaw that it could not be done without the King * of the Perſians; and therefore he deſired to have him joined to him* as *his Friend. Nor did he doubt but he ſhould eaſily compaſs it, provided he could* but *have the Opportunity of waiting upon him; for he knew that his Brother* † *Cyrus was privately levying War againſt him,* with *the Lacedemonians aſſiſting him, if he diſcovered this to him, he ſaw that he ſhould be in great Favour with him.*

CAP. X. Hæc quum moliretur, petereteque à Pharnabazo, ut ad regem mitteretur, eodem tempore Critias, cæterique tyranni Athenienſium, certos homines ad Lyſandrum in Aſiam miſerunt, qui eum certiorem facerent, niſi Alcibiadem ſuſtuliſſet, nihil earum rerum fore ratum, quas ipſe Athenis conſtituiſſet. Quare,

CHAP. X. *Whilſt he was attempting this, and deſiring Pharnabazus, that he might be ſent to the King, at the ſame Time Critias, and the other Tyrants* ‖ *of the Athenians, diſpatched away truſty Men into Aſia and Lyſander, to make him acquainted, that unleſs he took off Alcibiades, none of thoſe Things would ſtand good, which he had eſtabliſhed at Athens. Wherefore, if he had a Mind his*

* This King of the Perſians was Artaxerxes Mnemon, Son of Darius Nothus.

† This Cyrus is commonly ſurnamed the Leſs, to diſtinguiſh him from the Grand Cyrus, the Founder of the Perſian Monarchy. He was a Prince of great Abilities, according to Xenophon's Account of him, who was perſonally acquainted with him, and attended him in his Expedition againſt his Brother. He had been made by his Father Governor of Aſia Minor.

‖ When the Lacedemonians had reduced Athens, in the Concluſion of the Peloponneſian War, they veſted the Government in a Council of Thirty, ever after called the Thirty Tyrants.

re, ſi ſuas res geſtas manere vellet, illum perſequeretur. His Lacon rebus commotus ſtatuit accuratiùs ſibi agendum cum Pharnabazo Huic ergo renunciat, quæ regi cum Lacedæmoniis eſſent, ſtare non poſſe, fœderaque irrita futura, niſi Alcibiadem vivum aut mortuum tradidiſſet. Non tulit hoc ſatrapes, & violare clementiam, quàm regis opes minui, maluit. Itaque miſit Syſamithren & Bageum ad Alcibiadem interficiendum, quum ille eſſet in Phrygiâ, iterque ad regem pararet. Miſſi, clam vicinitati, in quâ tum Alcibiades erat, dant negotium, ut eum interficiant. Illi quum eum ferro aggredi non auderent, noctu ligna contulerunt circa caſam eam, in quâ quieſcebat, eamque ſuccenderunt, ut incendio conficerent, quem manu ſuperari poſſe diffidebant. Ille autem ſonitu flammæ excitatus, quòd gladius ei erat ſubductus, familiaris ſui ſubalare telum eripuit: Namque erat cum eo quidam ex Arcadiâ hoſpes, qui nunquam diſcedere voluerat. Hunc ſequi ſe jubet, & id quod in præſentiâ veſtimentorum fuit arripuit. His in ignem ejectis, flammæ vim tranſit.

Acts ſhould continue, he muſt look after him. The Lacedemonian, being rouſed with this, reſolved to deal roundly with Pharnabazus. Wherefore he tells him that the Alliance which the King had with the Lacedemonians could not continue, and that the Treaties would be of no Effect, unleſs he delivered up Alcibiades alive or dead. The Viceroy could not bear that, and choſe rather to violate the Laws of *Clemency, than that the King's Intereſt ſhould be leſſened. Wherefore he ſent Syſamithres and Bageus to kill Alcibiades, whilſt he was in * Phrygia, and preparing for a Journey to the King. The* Perſons *ſent privately give Order to the Neighbourhood in which Alcibiades then was, to kill him. They, not daring to attack him with the Sword, in the Night-time laid Wood about the thatched Houſe, in which he was aſleep, and ſet it on Fire, that they might diſpatch him by Burning, whom they deſpaired could be maſtered by Fighting. But he being awakened by the Crackling of the Flame, becauſe his Sword had been privately withdrawn from him, drew out a Dagger of his Friend. For there was with him a certain Hoſt of his of † Arcadia, who would never depart from him: He bids him follow him, and took up what Cloaths he had by him at that Time, and throwing them out into the*

* There were two Provinces of Aſia Minor called Phrygia, the Bigger and the Leſſer.

† Arcadia is a Country in the Middle of Peloponneſus.

tranſit. Quem ut barbari incendium effugiſſe eminùs viderunt, telis miſſis interfecerunt, caputque ejus ad Pharnabazum retulerunt. At mulier, quæ cum eo vivere conſueverat, muliebri ſuâ veſte contectum, ædificii incendio mortuum cremavit, quod ad vivum interimendum erat comparatum. Sic Alcibiades, annos circiter quadraginta natus, diem obiit ſupremum.

the Fire, paſſes the Fury of the Flame. Whom as ſoon as the Barbarians ſaw at a Diſtance to have eſcaped the Fire, diſcharging their Weapons at him, *they killed, and brought his Head to Pharnabazus. But the* * *Woman which had uſed to live with him, burnt him* when *dead, covered with her own Raiment, in the Fire of the Houſe, which had been prepared to burn him alive. Thus Alcibiades ended his laſt Day, being about forty Years old.*

CAP. XI. Hunc infamatum à pleriſque tres graviſſimi hiſtorici ſummis laudibus extulerunt: Thucydides, qui ejuſdem ætatis fuit; Theopompus, qui fuit poſt aliquantò natus; & Timæus; qui quidem duo maledicentiſſimi, neſcio quomodo, in illo

CHAP. XI. *Three very authentick Hiſtorians have extolled him,* tho' *blackened by moſt* Writers, *with the higheſt Commendations; Thucydides, who was of the ſame Age; Theopompus, who was born ſome Time after; and Timæus; Which two* laſt, tho' *much addicted to ill Language, I know not how,*

* Alcibiades ſeems, by this Account, to have been but very poorly attended for a Perſon of his Figure, whoſe Circumſtances, though in Baniſhment, might very well have afforded him a much more conſiderable Equipage; ſince he had, by virtue of Pharnabazus's Generoſity to him, an Income of ten thouſand Pounds a Year. But we are not to judge of Antiquity by the preſent Times, and think every Thing incredible, that does not ſquare with the Way and Faſhion of the World now-a-days. There was then a great Simplicity of Manners among the Greeks, which, with the Freedom of their Government, rendered them invincible; as the Luxury of the Perſians, a beauiſh, faſhionable People, like us, together with their ſlaviſh Subjection to their Prince, rendered them an eaſy Prey to the Greeks, and made them fly like Sheep in the Day of Battle. There is Abundance of amazing Inſtances of this prodigious Difference betwixt the two Nations, in the Hiſtory of Greece; which Conſideration ought to produce in us a paſſionate Fondneſs of Liberty, that dear Delight of the beſt and braveſt of Men, the Root and Support of all that is valuable in the World, and without which this Life is but a Sort of Hell upon Earth.

illo uno laudando conſenſerunt. Nam ea, quæ ſuprà diximus, de eo prædicârunt, atque hoc ampliùs: quum Athenis ſplendiſſimâ civit. natus eſſet, omnes Athenienſes ſplendore ac dignitate vitæ ſuperâſſe. Poſtquam inde expulſus Thebas venerit, adeò ſtudiis eorum inſerviſſe, ut nemo eum labore corporiſque viribus poſſet æquiparare. Omnes enim Bœotii magis firmitati corporis quàm ingenii acumini inſerviunt. Eundem apud Lacedæmonios, quorum moribus ſumma virtus in patientiâ ponebatur, ſic duritiei ſe dediſſe, ut parſimoniâ victûs atque cultûs omnes Lacedæmonios vinceret. Fuiſſe apud Thracas, homines vinolentos, rebuſque venereis deditos: hos quoquè in his rebus anteceſſiſſe. Veniſſe ad Perſas, apud quos ſumma laus eſſet fortiter venari, luxuriosè vivere. Horum ſic imitatum conſuetudinem, ut illi ipſi eum in his maximè admirarentur. Quibus rebus effeciſſe, ut, apud quoſcunque eſſet, princeps poneretur, habereturque chariſſimus. Sed ſatis de hoc; reliquos ordiamur.

how, have agreed together in praiſing him alone; for they have related thoſe Things of him, which we have ſpoken above, and this farther, that tho' he was born in Athens, the moſt ſplendid City in the World, *he excelled all the Athenians in the Spleudour and Dignity of his Life. After he came to Thebes*, upon his *being baniſhed thence, he ſo applied himſelf to their Courſe of Life, that nobody could equal him in the laborious Exerciſes, and Strength of Body; for all the Bœotians mind more the* Improvement of their *bodily Strength than Acuteneſs of Parts. The ſame* Man, *amongſt the Lacedemonians, according to the Faſhion of whom, the higheſt Virtue was placed in the enduring of Hardſhip, did ſo give himſelf up to a hard Way of Life, that he excelled all the Lacedemonians in the Frugality of his Diet and Dreſs. That he was amongſt the Thracians, drunken Fellows, and addicted to Lewdneſs; he quite outwent them too in theſe Matters. That he came amongſt the Perſians, with whom it was* Matter *of the higheſt Commendation, to hunt hard and live high. That he ſo imitated their Way of* Life, *that they themſelves admired him prodigiouſly in theſe Things. By which Means he brought it to paſs, that with whomſoever he was, he was reckoned a leading Man, and mightily beloved. But enough of him: Let us now proceed to the reſt.*

VIII. *THRA-*

VIII.

THRASYBULUS, Lyci Filius, Athenienſis.

CAP. I.

THRASYBULUS, Lyci filius, Athenienſis. Si per ſe virtus ſine fortunâ ponderanda ſit, dubito an hunc primum omnium ponam. Illi ſine dubio neminem præfero, fide, conſtantiâ, magnitudine animi, in patriam amore. Nam quod multi voluerunt, pauci potuerunt, ab uno tyranno patriam liberare, huic contigit, ut à triginta oppreſſam tyrannis, è ſervitute in libertatem vindicaret. Sed neſcio quomodo, quum eum nemo anteiret his virtutibus, multi nobilitate præcurrerunt. Primùm, Peloponneſio bello multa hic ſine Alcibiade geſſit: ille nullam rem ſine hoc; quæ ille univerſa naturali quodam bono fecit lucri. Sed illa tamen omnia communia imperatoribus cum militibus & fortunâ, quod in prælii concurſu abit res à conſilio ad vires vimque pugnantium. Itaque jure ſuo nonnulla ab impera-

VIII.

THRASYBULUS, the Son of Lycus, *the Athenian.*

CHAP. I.

THRASYBULUS, the Son of Lycus, the Athenian. If Virtue is to be conſidered by itſelf, without Fortune, I am in Doubt, whether or no I ſhould not place him the firſt of all the Greek Commanders. *Without doubt, I prefer nobody before him, for Honour, Conſtancy, Greatneſs of Soul,* and *Love to his Country. For what a great many have deſired,* but *few could* effect, that is, *to deliver their Country from one Tyrant, happened to him, to deliver his Country oppreſſed by thirty Tyrants, out of Slavery into Liberty. But I know not how, tho' nobody excelled him in thoſe Virtues, many outſtripped him in Fame. Firſt of all in the Peloponneſian War, he performed many Things without Alcibiades: He* did *nothing without him; all which, by a certain natural Advantage, he gained the Credit of. But however, all thoſe Things* are *in common to the Generals with the Soldiery and Fortune, becauſe, in the Rencounter*

imperatore miles, plurima verò fortuna, vendicat: ſeque his plùs valuiſſe, quàm ducis prudentiam, verè poteſt prædicare. Quare illud magnificentiſſimum factum proprium eſt Thraſybuli: Nam quum triginta tyranni, præpoſiti à Lacedæmoniis, ſervitute oppreſſas tenerent Athenas, plurimos cives, quibus in bello pepercerat fortuna, partim patriâ expuliſſent, partim interfeciſſent, plurimorum bona pûblicata inter ſe diviſiſſent; non ſolum princeps, ſed & ſolus initio bellum his indixit.

ter of a Battle, the Buſineſs proceeds from Conduct to Strength, and the Mettle of the Fighters. Wherefore the Soldier of Right claims ſomething from the General, but Fortune very much; and ſhe may truly boaſt, that ſhe has always *prevailed more in thoſe Matters, than the Prudence of a General. Wherefore that moſt noble Action is entirely Thraſybulus's; for when the thirty Tyrants, ſet up by the Lacedemonians, kept Athens oppreſſed in Slavery, and partly baniſhed their Country, partly killed a great many Citizens, whom Fortune had ſpared in the War, and divided their Eſtates, being confiſcated among ſt them, he was not only the principal, but the only Man at firſt,* that *made War upon them.*

CAP. II. Hic enim quum Phylen confugiſſet, quod eſt caſtellum in Atticâ munitiſſimum, non plus habuit ſecum quam triginta de ſuis. Hoc initium fuit ſalutis Atticorum: hoc robur libertatis clariſſimæ civitatis. Neque verò hic contemptus eſt primò à tyrannis, ſed ejus ſolitudo: quæ quidem res & illis contemnentibus perniciei, & huic deſpecto ſaluti, fuit. Hæc enim illos ad perſequendum ſegnes, hos autem, tempore ad comparandum dato, fecit robuſtiores. Quò magis præceptum illud omnium in animis eſſe debet. Nihil in bello oportere contemni: nec ſine causâ dici, Matrem

CHAP. II. *For when he firſt fled to Phyle, which is a very ſtrong Caſtle in Attica, he had no more with him than thirty of his Countrymen. This was the Original of the Recovery of the Athenians; this the Strength of the Liberty of that moſt famous City. And indeed he was not* ſo much *deſpiſed at firſt by the Tyrants, as his being alone: which Thing was both the Ruin of thoſe that deſpiſed* him, *and the Security of him that was deſpiſed; for this rendered them* too *lazy to look after him, and made the others ſtronger, by the Time* that was *given them to make due Preparations. For which the more ought that Maxim to be in the Minds of all, That nothing ought*

Matrem timidi flere non ſolere. Neque tamen pro opinione Thraſybuli auctæ ſunt opes; nam jam illis temporibus fortiùs boni pro libertate loquebantur, quàm pugnabant. Hinc in Pyræum tranſiit, Munichiamque munivit. Hanc bis tyranni oppugnare ſunt adorti, ab eâq; turpiter repulſi, protinus in urbem armis impedimentiſque amiſſis, refugerunt. Uſus eſt Thraſybulus non minùs prudentiâ quam fortitudine: nam cedentes violari vetuit, cives enim civibus parcere æquum cenſebat. Neque quiſquam eſt vulneratus, niſi qui prior impugnare voluit. Neminem jacentem veſte ſpoliavit: nil attigit niſi arma, quorum indigebat, & quæ ad victum pertinebant. In ſecundo prælio cecidit Critias, dux tyrannorum, quum quidem adverſus Thraſybulum fortiſſimè pugnaret.

ought to be ſlighted in War, and that it is not ſaid without a Reaſon, that the Mother of a Coward does not uſe to weep. However, Thraſybulus's Strength was not increaſed according to his Expectations. For even then at that Time, good Men ſpoke more bravely for their Liberty, than they fought for it. *After that he went into Pyræus, and fortified Munichia. The Tyrants twice attempted to aſſault it, and being ſhamefully driven from it, immediately fled into the Town, their Arms and Baggage being loſt. Thraſybulus made uſe of Prudence no leſs than Valour; for he forbid thoſe that fled to be hurt; for he thought it reaſonable, that Citizens ſhould ſpare their* Fellow-*Citizens; nor was any one wounded, but he that would firſt attack* them. *He ſtripped no one as he lay of his Clothes; he meddled with nothing but Arms which he wanted, and Proviſions. In the ſecond Battle fell Critias the Tyrants General, after he had indeed fought very bravely againſt Thraſybulus.*

Cap. III. Hoc dejecto, Pauſanias venit Atticis auxilio, rex Lacedæmoniorum. Is inter Thraſybulum & eos qui urbem tenebant, fecit pacem his conditionibus: Ne qui, præter triginta tyrannos, & decem, qui poſtea prætores creati, ſuperioris more crudelitatis erant uſi, afficerentur exilio: neve cujuſquam bona publicarentur: reipublicæ

Chap. III. *He being ſlain, Pauſanias, King of the Lacedemonians, came to the Aſſiſtance of the Athenians. He made a Peace betwixt Thraſybulus and thoſe who held the Town, upon theſe Terms: That none beſides the Thirty Tyrants, and the Ten, who being afterwards made Governors* of the City, *had uſed the Way of the former Cruelty, ſhould be puniſhed with Baniſhment, nor any*

reipublicæ procuratio populo redderetur. Præclarum hoc quoquè Thraſybuli, quòd reconciliatâ pace, quùm plurimùm in civitate poſſet, legem tulit, ne quis anteactarum rerum accuſaretur, neve mulctaretur: eamque illi legem oblivionis appellarunt. Neque verò hanc tantum ferendam curavit, ſed etiam ut valeret, effecit. Nam quum quidam ex his, qui ſimul cum eo in exilio fuerant, cædem facere eorum vellent, cum quibus in gratiam reditum fuerat; publicè prohibuit, & id, quod pollicitus erat, præſtitit.

any one's Eſtate confiſcated, and the Government of the Commonwealth reſtored to the People. This likewiſe was *a famous Thing of Thraſybulus, that* after *a Peace* was *made,* and *he was the moſt powerful Perſon in the City, he made a Law that nobody ſhould be called to an Account for Things paſt, nor puniſhed; and they called that an Act of Oblivion. Nor did he only take Care that this ſhould be paſſed, but likewiſe looked to it that it ſhould take Place effectually: For when ſome of thoſe, who had been together with him in Baniſhment, would have made a Maſſacre of thoſe with whom they had returned to good Agreement; he publickly hindered it, and performed that which he had promiſed.*

CAP. IV. Huic pro tantis meritis, honoris ergò, corona à populo data eſt, facta è duabus virgulis oleaginis: quæ, quòd amor civium, non vis expreſſerat, nullam habuit invidiam, magnæque fuit gloriæ. Bene ergo Pittacus ille, qui ſeptem ſapientum numero eſt habitus, quum ei Mitylenæi multa millia jugerum agri muneri darent, *Nolite,*

CHAP. IV. *A * Crown made of two Sprigs of Olive, was, by Way of Reſpect to him, given him by the People, for theſe eminent Services; which becauſe the Love of his Countrymen, and not Violence, had procured him, had no Hatred* attending it, *and was* Matter *of great Glory. Wherefore that Pittacus, who was reckoned in the Number of the Seven † Wiſe Men, when the Mityle-*

* This is an Inſtance and a Proof of the Plainneſs and Simplicity of thoſe Times, in Compariſon of our own. The Olive was a Tree ſacred to the Goddeſs Minerva, Patroneſs of their City; for the Heathens had, in every City almoſt, ſome peculiar God or Goddeſs, looked upon as the Guardian of the Place.

† Theſe Seven Wiſe Men flouriſhed about the Times of Crœſus, the rich King of Lydia, and Cyrus the Great, Founder of the Perſian Monarchy, *i. e.* about 560 before Chriſt.

Nolite, rogo vos, (inquit) *mihi dare, quod multi invideant, plures etiam concupiſcant. Quare ex iſtis nolo ampliùs quàm centum jugera, quæ & meam animi æquitatem, & veſtram voluntatem indicent. Nam parva munera, diutina; locupletia, non propria eſſe conſueverunt.* Illâ igitur coronâ contentus Thraſybulus, neque ampliùs requiſivit, neque quenquam honore ſe anteceſſiſſe exiſtimavit. Hic, ſequenti tempore, quum prætor claſſem ad Ciliciam appuliſſet, neque ſatìs diligenter in caſtris ejus agerentur vigiliæ, à barbaris, ex oppido noctu eruptione factâ, in tabernaculo interfectus eſt.

'*Mityleneans* * *gave him a great many thouſand* † *Acres of Land* as *a Preſent, ſaid well,* Do not, I beſeech you, give me what many may envy me for, and more covet. Wherefore I will *have* no more of thoſe than a hundred Acres, which may both ſhew the Reaſonableneſs of my Mind, and your Goodwill. For ſmall Gifts *are* laſting, but rich ones do not uſe to be of any long Continuance. *Wherefore Thraſybulus, being content with that Crown, neither ſought for more, nor thought any one exceeded him in Honour. He ſome Time after, when being Admiral, he brought up his Fleet to Cilicia, and the Watch was not diligently enough kept in his Camp, was ſlain in his Tent by the Barbarians, in a Sally made out of the Town in the Night-time.*

* Mytilene was the chief City of Leſbos, an Iſland in the Ægean Sea, nigh the Coaſt of Aſia Minor.

† Though I have rendered the Word *Jugera,* Acres, yet it is only for Want of a better. *Jugerum* is a Piece of Land 240 Roman Feet long, and 120 broad, not much above half our Acre.

IX.

CONON, Athenienſis.

CAP. I.

CONON Athenienſis Peloponneſio bello acceſſit ad rempublicam, in eoque ejus opera magni fuit; nam & prætor pedeſtribus exercitibus præfuit, & præfectus claſſis res magnas mari geſſit. Quas ob cauſas præcipuus ei honos habitus eſt. Namque omnibus unus inſulis prætuit: In quâ poteſtate Pharas cepit, coloniam Lacedæmoniorum. Fuit enim extremo Peloponneſio bello prætor, quum apud Ægos flumen copiæ Athenienſium à Lyſandro ſint devictæ. Sed tum abfuit, eòque pejùs res adminiſtrata eſt; nam & prudens rei militaris, & diligens erat imperator. Itaque nemini erat his temporibus dubium, ſi adfuiſſet, illam Athenienſes calamitatem accepturos non fuiſſe.

CAP. II.

Rebus autem afflictis, quum patriam obſideri audiſſet, non quæſivit, ubi ipſe tutò viveret, ſed unde

IX.

CONON, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

CONON the Athenian came to be employed *in publick Affairs in the Peloponneſian War, and his Service in it was of great* Account; *for he both commanded, as General, the Land Forces, and being Admiral of the Fleet, performed great Things by Sea: For which Reaſon a particular Honour was conferred upon him. For he alone governed all the Iſlands: in which Poſt he took Phareæ, a Colony of the Lacedemonians. He was likewiſe a Commander in the latter End of the Peloponneſian War, when the Forces of the Athenians were defeated by Lyſander at the River Ægos. But he was then abſent, and the Matter was ſo much the worſe managed; for he was both well ſkilled in military Affairs, and a diligent Commander. Wherefore it was a Doubt with no[illegible] in thoſe Times,* that *if he had been there, the Athenians would not have received that Loſs.*

CHAP. II.

But the Affairs of the Athenians *being now in a bad Condition, when he heard that his native City was beſieged, he did*

not

unde præſidio eſſet civibus ſuis. Itaque contulit ſe, ad Pharnabazum ſatrapen Ioniæ & Lydiæ, eundemque generum regis & propinquum: apud quem ut multùm gratiâ valeret, multo labore multiſque effecit periculis. Nam quum Lacedæmonii, Athenienſibus devictis, in ſocietate non manerent, quam cum Artaxerxe fecerant. Ageſilaumque bellatum miſiſſent in Aſiam, maximè impulſi à Tiſſapherne, qui ex intimis regis ab amicitiâ ejus defecerat, & cum Lacedæmoniis coierat ſocietatem; hunc adverſus Pharnabazus habitus eſt imperator: re quidem verâ exercitui præfuit Conon, ejuſque omnia arbitrio geſta ſunt. Hic multùm ducem ſummum Ageſilaum impedivit, ſæpeque ejus conſiliis obſtitit. Neque verò non fuit apertum, ſi ille non fuiſſet, Ageſilaum Aſiam Tauro tenus regi fuiſſe erepturum. Qui poſteaquam domum à civibus ſuis revocatus eſt, quòd Bœotii & Athenienſes Lacedæmoniis bellum indixerant: Conon nihilo ſeciùs apud præfectos regis verſabatur, hiſque omnibus maximo erat uſui.

not ſeek a Place where he might live ſecurely himſelf, but from whence he might be aſſiſting to his Countrymen; wherefore he betook himſelf to Pharnabazus, the Viceroy of Ionia and Lydia, and the ſame likewiſe *Son-in-law of the King and his Relation: with whom he procured himſelf a very great Intereſt, by his great Diligence, and* the running of *many Dangers. For when the Lacedemonians,* after *the Athenians* were *conquered, did not continue in the Alliance which they had made with Artaxerxes, and ſent Ageſilaus into Aſia, to make War, being encouraged chiefly by Tiſſapherne, who, of* one of *the King's Intimates, had quitted his Friendſhip, and clapped up an Alliance with the Lacedemonians; Pharnabazus was accounted the General againſt him, but indeed Conon commanded the Army, and all Things were managed at his Pleaſure. He very much curbed that great General Ageſilaus, and oftentimes obſtructed his Deſigns. And indeed it was very apparent, that if he had not been* there, *Ageſilaus would have taken* all *Aſia, as far as Mount * Taurus, from the King. After he was recalled home by his Countrymen, becauſe the Bœotians and Athenians had proclaimed War againſt the Lacedemonians; Conon notwithſtanding continued with the King's Vice-*

* A Mountain of Aſia, that takes it's Riſe upon the Borders of Cilicia, and runs through the Middle of Aſia.

CAP. III. Defecerat à rege Tiſſaphernes, neque id tam Artaxerxi, quàm cæteris, erat apertum: multis enim magniſque meritis apud regem, etiam cum in officio non maneret, valebat. Neque id mirandum, ſi non facilè ad credendum inducebatur, reminiſcens ejus ſe operâ Cyrum fratrem ſuperâſſe. Hujus accuſandi gratiâ Conon à Pharnabazo ad regem miſſus, poſteaquam venit, primùm, ex more Perſarum, ad chiliarchum, qui ſecundum gradum imperii tenebat, Tithrauſtem, acceſſit, ſeque oſtendit cum rege colloqui velle; nemo enim ſine hoc admittitur. Huic ille, *Nulla*, inquit, *mora eſt*; *ſed tu delibera, utrum colloqui malis an per literas agere, quæ cogitas. Neceſſe eſt enim, ſi in conſpectum veneris, venerari te regem (quod προσκυνεῖν illi vocant.) Hoc ſi tibi grave eſt, per me nihilo ſeciùs editis mandatis, conficies quod ſtudes.* Tum Conon, *Mihi verò*, inquit, *non eſt grave quemvis honorem habere regi:*

reys, and was of great Service to them all.

CHAP. III. *Tiſſaphernes had revolted from the King, nor was that ſo plain to Artaxerxes, as to other People; for he had a great Sway with the King, by* reaſon of his *many and great Services, even when he did not continue in his Allegiance. Nor is it to be wondered at, if he was not eaſily induced to believe it, remembering that he had conquered his Brother Cyrus by his Means. Conon being ſent by Pharnabazus to the King, in order to accuſe him, after he came* to Court, *firſt applied, according to the Cuſtom of the Perſians, to Tithrauſtes, Captain of the Guard, who had the next Degree of Power* to the King himſelf; *and informs him that he was deſirous to ſpeak with the King, for nobody is admitted without him.* Upon which *he ſays to him,* There is no Obſtacle *to that*; but do you conſider whether you had rather talk with him, or treat *with him* by Letters, upon what you deſign. For it is neceſſary *for you*, if you come into his Sight, to * worſhip the King, which they call προσκυνεῖν. If this be

* This Worſhipping was falling flat on the Face upon the Ground before the King. The Greeks looked upon this as a Piece of baſe, mean-ſpirited Submiſſion, and could few of them be brought to comply with it. Nay, an Athenian Ambaſſador, having once ſubmitted to worſhip the King, was put to Death for it by the Athenians, upon his Return Home, as having done a Thing highly reflecting on the Honour of his Country.

regi: ſed vereor, ne civitati meæ ſit opprobrio, ſi, cùm ex eâ ſim profectus, quæ cæteris gentibus imperare conſueverit, potiùs barbarorum, quàm illius, more fungar. Itaque quæ volebat, huic ſcripta tradidit.

be troubleſome to you, giving me your Inſtructions, you ſhall notwithſtanding diſpatch what you deſire. *Then Conon replied,* It is not indeed any Trouble to me to pay any Reſpect to the King: but I am afraid, leſt it ſhould be a Diſparagement to my native City, if, tho' I proceed from a City, which has been accuſtomed to rule over other Nations, I ſhould obſerve the Uſages of * Foreigners, rather than that of my native City. *Wherefore he delivered to him in Writing what he had a Mind to ſay.*

Cap. IV. Quibus cognitis rex tantùm auctoritate ejus motus eſt, ut Tiſſaphernem hoſtem judicârit, & Lacedæmonios bello perſequi juſſerit, & ei permiſerit, quem vellet, eligere ad diſpenſandam pecuniam. Id arbitrium Conon negavit ſui eſſe conſilii, ſed ipſius, qui optimè ſuos nôſſe deberet. Sed ſe ſuadere Pharnabazo id negotii daret. Hinc, magnis muneribus donatus, ad mare eſt

Chap. IV. *Which Things being known, the King was ſo much wrought upon by his Perſuaſion, that he declared Tiſſaphernes an Enemy, and ordered him to fall upon the Lacedemonians in War, and permitted him to chooſe whom he pleaſed, to diſburſe the Money* for the Army. *Conon denied that Choice was* a Matter *for his Determination, but his own, who ought to know his own* Subjects *beſt; but that he adviſed him to give that Employ to Pharnabazus.* Upon

* The Word *Barbarus* is borrowed from the Greeks, amongſt whom it was originally uſed to ſignify thoſe that talked badly, or with Difficulty; and becauſe that was commonly the Caſe of Foreigners, as to the Greek Tongue, it was uſed for all that were not Greeks. At laſt the Word was taken in an ill Senſe; for the Greeks valuing themſelves upon their Learning, Politeneſs and Humanity, by which indeed they ſtood remarkably diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of Mankind, in its Application to Foreigners, it had at length tacked to it an Intimation of their Deficiency in the nobleſt Ornaments of human Nature mentioned before; and laſt of all was uſed for an ignorant, bruiſh, cruel Man, whether Foreigner or Greek.

eſt miſſus, ut Cypriis, & Phœnicibus, cæteriſque civitatibus maritimis, naves longas imperaret, claſſemque, quâ proximâ æſtate mare tueri poſſet, compararet; dato adjutore Pharnabazo, ſicut ipſe voluerat. Id ut Lacedæmoniis eſt nunciatum, non ſine curâ rem adminiſtrarunt, quòd majus bellum imminere arbitrabantur, quàm ſi cum Perſis ſolùm contenderent. Nam ducem fortem, & prudentem, regiis opibus præfuturum, ac ſecum dimicaturum videbant, quem neque conſilio, neque copiis, ſuperare poſſent. Hâc mente, magnam contrahunt claſſem: proficiſcuntur Piſandro duce: Hos Conon, apud Cnidum adortus, magno prælio fugat, multas naves capit, complures deprimit. Quâ victoriâ non ſolum Athenæ, ſed etiam cuncta Græcia, quæ ſub Lacedæmoniorum fuerat imperio, liberata eſt. Conon cum parte navium in patriam venit: muros dirutos utroſque Piræei & Athenarum, reficiendos curat: pecuniæque quinquaginta talenta, quæ à Pharnabazo acceperat, civibus ſuis donat.

Upon this, being preſented with great Preſents, he was ſent to the Sea, to order the Cyprians, Phœnicians, and other Nations on the Sea-Coaſt, to furniſh *Men of War, and provide a Fleet, with which he might ſecure the Sea next Summer; Pharnabazus being given him* as *his Aſſiſtant, accordingly as he himſelf had deſired. As ſoon as this was told the Lacedemonians, they managed their Buſineſs not without Care, becauſe they thought a greater War threatened* them, *than if they had to do with the Perſians only. For they ſaw that a valiant and a wiſe General would command the King's Forces, and engage with them, whom they could outmatch neither in Conduct nor Troops. With this Conſideration they get together a great Fleet,* and *go with Piſander* for *their Admiral. Conon ſetting upon them, near Cnidus, routs them in a great Fight, takes many Ships,* and *ſinks many; by which Victory not only Athens, but likewiſe all Greece, which had been under the Yoke of the Lacedemonians, was delivered. Conon came with Part of his Ships into his native Country,* and *takes Care to have the Walls both of Pyræus and Athens repaired; and preſents to his Countrymen fifty Talents of Money, which he had received from Pharnabazus.*

CAP. V. Accidit huic, quod cæteris mortalibus, ut inconſideratior in ſecundâ, quàm in adverſâ eſſet fortunâ. Nam claſſe Peloponneſiorum

CHAP. V. *That happened to him, which* happens *to other Mortals, that he was more inconſiderate in his good, than in his bad Fortune. For having conquered the Fleet*

ſiorum devictâ, quum ultum ſe injurias patriæ putaret, plura concupivit, quàm efficere potuit. Neque tamen ea non pia & probanda fuerunt, quòd potiùs patriæ opes augeri, quàm regis, maluit. Nam quum magnam auctoritatem ſibi pugnâ illa navali quam apud Cnidum fecerat, conſtituiſſet, non ſolùm inter barbaros, ſed etiam inter omnes Græciæ civitates, clam dare operam cœpit, ut Ioniam & Æoliam reſtitueret Athenienſibus. Id quum minus diligenter eſſet celatum, Tiribazus, qui Sardibus præerat, Cononem evocavit, ſimulans ad regem cum ſe mittere velle magnâ feſtina-

Fleet of the Peloponneſians, when he thought he had revenged the Injuries done *his Country, he aimed at more Things than he was able to accompliſh. Neither yet were not theſe Things * expreſſive of his Duty to his Country, and commendable; becauſe he choſe rather to have the Power of his Country, than of the King, advanced. For after he had eſtabliſhed to himſelf a great Authority by that Sea-fight, that he had fought at Cnidus, not only amongſt Foreigners, but amongſt all the States of Greece, he began to endeavour underhand to reſtore Ionia and Æolia to the Athenians. As that was not carefully concealed, Tiribazus, who was Governor of Sardis, ſent for Conon, pretending that*

* The Word *Pius* ſeems manifeſtly derived from the Greek πιος, mild, gentle, kind, ſuch as a Man ought to be, in a diſtinguiſhing Manner, to his own Relations: Thence it was put to ſignify one that behaved towards ſuch, with the Regard and Affection that was due to them. As a dutiful Son is, as ſuch, properly called *Pius*; a Perſon likewiſe that carried himſelf with due Devotion or Submiſſion towards the Gods, with due Loyalty or Affection to his Prince or Country, was upon that Account denominated *Pius*, and the Virtue in all theſe Caſes called *Pietas*: But our Author talks here in the common Strain and Way of commending a Man for his Actions in Behalf of his Country, though without any Regard to Juſtice. It was a baſe Piece of Treachery in Conon to endeavour to debauch the Ionians and Æolians from their Allegiance, and far from being commendable. Had any body ſerved Auguſtus ſo, Nepos would, it is likely, have been forward enough to condemn him. But a very little Conſideration might have ſatisfied him, that what was criminal and villainous, when committed againſt an Emperor of Rome, was as certainly ſo, when committed againſt an Emperor of Perſia. This Attempt of Conon's was too groſs to admit of any Excuſe, much leſs does it deſerve the Commendation our Author beſtows upon it: And therefore herein I think he has betrayed his Want of Judgment.

feſtinatione. Hujus nuncio parens quum veniſſet, in vincula conjectus eſt, in quibus aliquandiu fuit. Nonnulli eum ad regem abductum, ibique periiſſe ſcriptum reliquerunt. Contra ea, Dinon hiſtoricus, cui nos plurimùm de Perſicis rebus credimus, effugiſſe ſcripſit; illud addubitat, utrùm Tiribazo ſciente, an imprudente ſit factum.

that he would ſend him to the King in great Haſte. After he was come to him in Obedience to his Meſſage, he was put under Confinement, in which he was for ſome Time. Some have left it on Record, that he was carried to the King, and there put to Death. On the other Hand, Dinon the Hiſtorian, whom we chiefly give Credit to, as to Perſian Affairs, writes, that he made his Eſcape; but *doubts whether it was done with the Knowledge of Tiribazus or not.*

X. *DION,*

X.

DION, Hipparini *Filius, Syracuſanus.*

CAP. I.

DION, Hipparini filius, Syracuſanus, nobili genere natus, utrâque implicatus tyrannide Dionyſiorum; namque ille ſuperior Ariſtomachen, ſororem Dionis, habuit in matrimonio: ex quâ duos filios, Hipparinum & Nyſæum, procreavit, totidemque filias Sophroſynem & Areten: quarum priorem Dionyſio filio, eidem cui regnum reliquit, nuptum dedit: alteram, Areten, Dioni. Dion autem prætor nobilem propinquitatem, generoſamque majorum famam, multa alia à naturâ habuit bona: In his ingenium docile, come, aptum ad artes optimas; magnam corporis dignitatem, quæ non minimùm

X.

DION, *the Son of* Hipparinus, *the Syracuſan.*

CHAP. I.

*DION, the Son of Hipparinus, the Syracuſan, was born of a noble Family, and * allied to both the Dionyſius's; for the firſt of them had Ariſtomache, Dion's Siſter, in Marriage, by whom he had two Sons, Hipparinus and Nyſæus, and as many Daughters, Sophroſyne and Arete; the former of which he gave in Marriage to Dionyſius the Son, the ſame to whom he left his Kingdom; the other, Arete, to Dion. Dion, beſides this noble Alliance, and the generous Fame of his Anceſtors, had a great many other Advantages from Nature: Amongſt theſe a docible Genius, courteous, fit for the beſt Arts; great Handſomeneſs of Perſon, which does not a little recommend* a Man; *beſides great Riches left*

N him

* Either our Author has here expreſſed himſelf a little careleſsly, or elſe the Reading, I think, muſt be faulty; for to me, the Words do not ſeem to expreſs the Senſe, which, it is plain, from the following Words, he intended.

mùm commendat: magnas præterea divitias à patrè relictas, quas ipſe tyranni muneribus auxerat. Erat intimus Dionyſio priori, neque minùs propter mores quàm affinitatem. Namque, etſi Dionyſii crudelitas ipſi diſplicebat, tamen ſalvum illum propter neceſſitudinem, magìs etiam ſuorum causâ, eſſe ſtudebat. Aderat in magnis rebus; ejuſque conſilio multùm movebatur, tyrannus niſi quâ in re major ipſius cupiditas interceſſerat. Legationes verò omnes, quæ eſſent illuſtriores, per Dionem adminiſtrabantur; quas quidem ille diligenter obeundo, fideliter adminiſtrando, crudeliſſimum nomen tyranni ſuâ humanitate tegebat. Hunc à Dionyſio miſſum Carthaginienſes ſuſpexerunt, ut neminem unquam Græcâ linguâ loquentem magìs ſint admirati.

him *by his Father, which he had increaſed by the Tyrant's Preſents. He was intimate with the firſt Dionyſius, no leſs for his good Behaviour, than his Relation* to him. *For although the Cruelty of Dionyſius diſpleaſed him, yet he was deſirous he ſhould be ſecure, becauſe of his Alliance* with him, *and more upon Account of his* Relations. *He was aſſiſting* to him *in* all *his weighty Affairs; and the Tyrant was much ſwayed by his Advice, unleſs, in any Caſe, ſome violent Humour of his own interpoſed. But all the Embaſſies, that were extraordinary, were undertaken by Dion; by diſcharging which carefully, and managing faithfully, he covered the moſt cruel Name of the Tyrant under his own Humanity. The Carthaginians admired him* upon his *being ſent* thither *by Dionyſius, ſo as they never admired any body, that ſpoke the Greek Tongue, more.*

CAP. II. Neque verò hæc Dionyſium fugiebant; nam quantò eſſet ſibi ornamento, ſentiebat. Quo fiebat, ut uni huic maximè indulgeret, neque eum ſecùs diligeret ac filium. Qui quidem, quum Platonem Tarentum veniſſe fama in Siciliam eſſet perlata, adoleſcenti negare non potuit, quin eum arceſſeret, quum Dion ejus audiendi cupiditate flagraret. Dedit ergo huic

CHAP. II. *Nor indeed did theſe Things eſcape the* Notice of *Dionyſius; for he was ſenſible how great an Ornament he was to him; from whence it was, that he indulged him alone very much, nor did he love him any otherwiſe, than as* his own Son. *Who too, when News was brought into Sicily, that Plato was come to Tarentum, could not deny the young Man, but ſent for him, ſeeing Dion was inflamed with a Deſire of hearing him. Wherefore he granted*

huic veniam, magnâque eum ambitione Syracuſas perduxit. Quem Dion adeò admiratus eſt, atque adamavit, ut ſe totum ei traderet. Neque verò minùs Plato delectatus eſt Dione. Itaque, quum à Dionyſio Tyranno crudeliter violatus eſſet, (quippe quem venundari juſſiſſet) tamen eodem rediit, ejuſdem Dionis precibus adductus. Interim in morbum incidit Dionyſius; quo cùm graviter conflictaretur, quæſivit à medicis Dion, quemadmodum ſe haberet; ſimulque ab his petit, ſi fortè majore eſſet periculo, ut ſibi faterentur: Nam velle ſe cum eo colloqui de partiendo regno, quòd ſororis ſuæ filios ex illo natos partem regni putabat debere habere. Id medici non tacuerunt, & ad Dionyſium filium ſermonem retulerunt. Quo ille commotus, ne agendi cum eo eſſet Dioni poteſtas, patri ſoporem medicos dare coëgit. Hoc æger ſumpto, ſomno ſopitus, diem obiit ſupremum.

granted him the Favour, and by great Importunity drew him to Syracuſe. Whom Dion ſo much admired and loved, that he gave himſelf wholly up to him. Nor was Plato leſs pleaſed with Dion. Therefore though he was cruelly abuſed by Dionyſius the Tyrant, (for he had ordered him to be ſold) yet he returned to the ſame Place, being prevailed upon by the Entreaties of the ſame Dion. In the mean Time Dionyſius fell into a Diſtemper, with which when he was grievouſly handled, Dion enquired of the Phyſicians, how he was; and at the ſame Time deſired of them, if perhaps he was in great Danger, that they would confeſs it to him; for he had a Mind to talk with him about dividing the Kingdom, becauſe he thought his Siſter's Sons by him ought to have a Share of the Kingdom. The Phyſicians did not conceal that, and carried theſe Words to Dionyſius the Son. At which being ſtartled, that Dion might not have an Opportunity of talking with him, he forced the Phyſicians to give his Father a ſleeping Doſe. The ſick Prince *having taken this, being laid faſt aſleep* by it, *ended his laſt Day.*

CAP. III. Tale initium fuit Dionis & Dionyſii ſimultatis; eaque multis rebus aucta eſt: Sed tamen primis temporibus, aliquandiu ſimulata inter eos amicitia manſit. Quum Dion non deſiſteret obſecrare Dionyſium, ut Platonem Athenis

CHAP. III. *Such was the Beginning of the Miſunderſtanding betwixt Dion and Dionyſius; and that was increaſed by many Things: But yet at firſt, for ſome Time, a pretended Friendſhip continued betwixt them. And as Dion did not ceaſe to beg of Dionyſius, that he would ſend for*

thenis acceſſerit, & ejus conſiliis uteretur: ille, qui in aliquâ re vellet patrem imitari, morem ei geſſit; eodemque tempore Philiſtum hiſtoricum Syracuſas reduxit, hominem amicum non magis tyranno, quàm tyrannidi. Sed de hoc in eo meo libro plura ſunt expoſita qui de hiſtoricis conſcriptus eſt. Plato autem tantùm apud Dionyſium auctoritate potuit, valuitque eloquentiâ, ut ei perſuaſerit tyrannidis facere finem libertatemque reddere Syracuſanis: à quâ voluntate Philiſti conſilio deterritus, aliquanto crudelior eſſe cœpit.

Plato from Athens, and make uſe of his Advice; he, who had a Mind to imitate his Father in ſomething, gave him his Humour; and at the ſame Time brought back Philiſtus the Hiſtorian to Syracuſe, a Man not more a Friend to the Tyrant, than to Tyranny itſelf. *But more has been ſaid about him, in that Book of mine which was written about the Hiſtorians. But Plato wrought ſo much upon Dionyſius by his Authority, and prevailed ſo by his Eloquence, that he perſuaded him to put an End to* his *Uſurpation, and to reſtore to the Syracuſans their Liberty; from which Intention being diſſuaded by the Counſel of Philiſtus, he began to be ſomething more cruel.*

CAP. IV. Qui quidem, quum à Dione ſe ſuperari videret ingenio, auctoritate, amore populi; verens ne, ſi eum ſecum haberet, aliquam occaſionem ſui daret opprimendi: navem ei triremem dedit, quâ Corinthum deveheretur; oſtendens ſe id utriuſque facere causâ, ne, quum inter ſe timerent, alteruter alterum præoccuparet. Id quum factum multi indignarentur, magnæque eſſet invidiæ tyranno, Dionyſius omnia, quæ moveri pote-

CHAP. IV. *Who when he ſaw himſelf excelled by Dion in Parts, Authority,* and *Love of the People, fearing leſt, if he kept him with him, he ſhould give* him *ſome Opportunity of ruining him; he gave him a Ship with three Banks of Oars, wherein he might go to* * *Corinth; declaring, he did it upon both their Accounts, leſt, ſince they were jealous of one another, one of them ſhould trepan the other. As many People were angry at the Fact, and it was to the Tyrant* an Occaſion *of great* † *Hatred, Dionyſius put on board* ſome

* Corinth was a famous City in the Entrance of Peloponneſus from Achaia.

† I have ſeveral Times above tranſlated *invidia* by *Hatred*; for ſo indeed it commonly ſignifies, a popular Odium or Hatred; and that Senſe

poterant Dionis, in naves impoſuit, ad eumque miſit. Sic enim exiſtimari volebat, id ſe non odio hominis, ſed ſuæ ſalutis feciſſe causâ. Poſtea verò quàm audivit eum in Peloponneſo manum comparare, ſibique bellum facere conari, Areten Dionis uxorem alii nuptum dedit, filiumque ejus ſic educari juſſit, ut indulgendo, turpiſſimis imbueretur cupiditatibus. Nam puero, priuſquam pubes eſſet, ſcorta adducebantur: vino epuliſque obruebatur, neque ullum tempus ſobrio relinquebatur. Is uſque eò vitæ ſtatum commutatum ferre non potuit, poſtquam in patriam rediit pater (namque appoſiti erant cuſtodes, qui eum à priſtino victu deducerunt) ut ſe è ſuperiore parte ædium dejecerit, atque ita interierit. Sed illuc revertor.

ſome *Ships all the* Subſtance *of Dion that could be removed, and ſent it to him. For he had a Mind it ſhould be thought, that he had done that, not out of a Hatred of the Man, but upon Account of his own Security. But after he heard that he was levying Troops in Peloponneſus, and endeavouring to make War upon him, he gave Arete the Wife of Dion in Marriage to another, and ordered his Son to be educated ſo, that he might, by indulging* him, *be tainted with the moſt filthy Luſts. For* * *Whores were brought him,* when but *a Boy, before he was of Age: He was perfectly overwhelmed with Wine and good Cheer, nor was any Time left him* to be *ſober. He could not bear his State of Life* when *changed, to that Degree, that after his Father returned into his Coutry, (for Keepers were ſet over him, to reclaim him from his former Way of Life) he threw himſelf from the upper Part of a Houſe, and ſo died. But* I *return.*

CAP. V. Poſtquam Corinthum pervenit Dion, & eòdem

CHAP. V. *After Dion came to Corinth, and Heraclides fled to the*

Senſe it viſibly has here. This little Remark is deſigned for the Benefit of ſnch Smatterers in the Latin Tongue as may be more diſpoſed to cavil than to learn. I warn them, once for all, to have a Care of meddling, for fear of burning their Fingers.

* The Tyrant ſeems to have been of Opinion, that to debauch him was the greateſt Miſchief he could do him; and ſo far he was undoubtedly right; becauſe it was better, to be ſure, to be hanged, or to be diſpatched any Way, at once, than to lead a Life of Lewdneſs and Debauchery. But what a comfortable Opinion muſt the Brute have had of himſelf in the mean Time, who was as lewd as anybody?

eòdem perfugit Heraclides, ab eodem expulſus Dionyſio, qui præfectus fuerat equitum: omni ratione bellum comparare cœperunt: ſed non multùm proficiebant, quòd multorum annorum tyrannis magnarum opum putabatur; quam ob cauſam pauci ad ſocietatem periculi perducebantur. Sed Dion, fretus non tam ſuis copiis, quàm odio tyranni, maximo animo, duabus onerariis navibus, quinquaginta annorum imperium, munitum quingentis longis navibus, decem equitum, centum peditum millibus, profectus oppugnatum; quod omnibus gentibus admirabile eſt viſum, adeò facilè perculit, ut poſt diem tertium quàm Siciliam attigerat, Syracuſas introierit. Ex quo intelligi poteſt, nullum eſſe imperium tutum, niſi benevolentiâ munitum. Eo tempore aberat Dionyſius, & in Italiâ claſſem operiebatur, adverſariorum ratus neminem ſine magnis copiis ad ſe venturum: Quæ res eum fefellit; nam Dion iis ipſis, qui ſub adverſarii fuerant poteſtate, regios ſpiritus repreſſit, totiuſque ejus partis Siciliæ potitus eſt, quæ ſub Dionyſii poteſtate fuerat; parique modo urbis Syracuſarum, præter arcem & inſulam adjunctam oppido; eòque rem perduxit, ut talibus factionibus pacem tyrannus facere vellet:

the ſame Place, being baniſhed by the ſame Dionyſius, who had been Commander of the Horſe, they began to levy War by all Manner of *Means: But they advanced but little, becauſe an Uſurpation of many Years* Continuance *was thought* to be *of great Strength; for which Reaſon few were brought to a Share of the Danger. But Dion, truſting not ſo much to his Troops, as the Hatred of the Tyrant, going to attack a Government of fifty Years* Duration, *defended by five hundred Men of War, ten thouſand Horſe, and a hundred thouſand Foot, with the greateſt Courage, in two Ships of Burden only; what appeared wonderful to all Nations, he ſo eaſily overthrew it, that he entered Syracuſe the third Day after he had reached Sicily. From which it may be underſtood, that no Government is ſafe unleſs ſecured by the Affection* of the Subjects. *At that Time Dionyſius was abſent, and waiting for his Fleet in Italy, ſuppoſing that none of his Enemies would come againſt him without a great Force: Which Thing deceived him; for Dion curbed the Tyrant's Pride with thoſe very Men that had been under the Dominion of his Adverſary, and carried all that Part of Sicily, which had been under the Government of Dionyſius: And in like Manner the City of Syracuſe, except the Citadel, and the Iſland joining upon the Town; and brought the Matter to that, that the Tyrant was willing to make Peace upon theſe Terms,*

vellet: Siciliam Dion obtineret, Italiam Dionyſius, Syracuſas Apollocrates, cui maximam fidem uni habebat Dion.

Terms: That *Dion ſhould have Sicily, Dionyſius Italy,* and *Apollocrates Syracuſe, in whom alone Dion had the greateſt Confidence.*

CAP. VI. Has tam proſperas, tamque inopinitas res conſecuta eſt ſubita commutatio; quòd fortuna ſuâ mobilitate, quem paulò antè extulerat, demergere eſt adorta. Primùm in filio, de quo commemoravi ſuprà ſuam vim exercuit. Nam quum uxorem reduxiſſet, quæ alii fuerat tradita, filiumque vellet revocare ad virtutem à peditâ luxuriâ, accepit graviſſimum parens vulnus morte filii: deinde orto diſſenſio eſt inter eum & Heraclidem: qui Dioni principatum non concedens, factionem comparavit: Neque enim minùs valebat apud optimates, quorum conſenſu præerat claſſi, quum Dion exercitum pedeſtrem teneret. Non tulit hoc animo æquo Dion, & verſum illum Homeri retulit ex ſecundâ rhapſodiâ, in quo hæc ſententia

CHAP. VI. *A ſudden Change followed this mighty and unexpected Succeſs; becauſe Fortune attempted by her Fickleneſs to ſink him whom ſhe had raiſed before. She firſt of all exerted her Violence upon his Son, of whom I have made mention above; for, after he had taken his Wife again, which had been given to another, and was deſirous to recover his Son to Virtue, from a* State *of deſperate Luxury, he received* as *a Father a grievous Affliction in the Death of his Son. After that, a Difference aroſe betwixt him and Heraclides; who, not yielding the Superiority to Dion, formed a Party: For he was no leſs powerful among ſt the* * *Quality, by whoſe Conſent he commanded the Fleet, whilſt Dion had the Land Army. Dion could not bear this with a patient Mind, and repeated that* † *Verſe of Homer out of the ſecond Rhapſody, in which is this Sentence,*

* In the Commonwealth of Greece, and ſo of Sicily, which was peopled from Greece, there were commonly two Factions; one, of thoſe that were for an abſolute Democracy, and the other, of ſuch as were for a Sort of an Ariſtocracy, or for taking the Power out of the Hands of the Vulgar. Of the former Party were the common People, the Peaſants, Artiſans and Tradeſmen chiefly: In the latter were generally the Gentry, and People of better Faſhion, which were therefore called *Optimates.*

† It is plain by this and what follows, that Dion had no Intention of reſtoring the Syracuſans to their Liberty, but only that they ſhould change their Maſter.

ſententia eſt: *Non poſſe beni geri rempublicam multorum imperiis.* Quod dictum magna invidia conſecuta eſt: Namque aperuiſſe videbatur, ſe omnia in ſuâ poteſtate eſſe velle. Hanc ille non lenire obſequio, ſed acerbitate opprimere ſtuduit; Heraclidemque, quum Syracuſas veniſſet, interficiendum curavit.

tence, That a Commonwealth could not be well managed by the Government of many. *Which Saying a mighty Odium followed: For he ſeemed to have diſcovered, that he intended, that all Things ſhould be under his Authority. This he did not endeavour to allay by Compliance, but to ſuppreſs by Severity, and took Care to have Heraclides ſlain, when he came to Syracuſe.*

CAP. VII. Quod factum omnibus maximum timorem injecit; nemo enim illo interfecto ſe tutum putabat. Ille autem, adverſario remoto, licentiùs eorum bona, quos ſciebat adverſus ſe ſenſiſſe militibus diſpertivit. Quibus diviſis, quum quotidiani maximi fierent ſumtus celeriter pecunia deeſſe cœpit: Neque, quò manus porrigeret, ſuppetebat, niſi in amicorum poſſeſſiones. Id ejuſmodi erat, ut quum milites reconciliâſſet, amitteret optimates. Quarum rerum curâ frangebatur; & inſuetus malè audiendi, non æquo animo ferebat, de ſe ab iis malè exiſtimari, quorum paulò antè in cœlum fuerat elatus laudibus. Vulgus autem, offensâ in eum militum voluntate, liberiùs loquebatur, & tyrannum non ferendum dictitabat.

CHAP. VII. *Which Action ſtruck a mighty Terror into every Body; for nobody thought himſelf ſafe, after he was ſlain. But he, his Enemy being taken off, divided their Eſtates whom he knew to have been in theſe Sentiments againſt him, to his Soldiers very licentiouſly. Which being diſtributed, as* his *daily Expences were very great, Money quickly began to fail* him: *Nor was there any Thing to which he could reach his Hands, but the Poſſeſſions of his Friends: That was ſuch, that whilſt he gained the Soldiery, he loſt the better Party. With the Care of which Things he was diſpirited; and being unaccuſtomed to hear himſelf ill ſpoken of, he bore it not with an eaſy Mind, that he ſhould be ill thought of by thoſe, by whoſe Praiſes he had been exalted to Heaven a little before. But the common People, the Minds of the Soldiers being offended at him, ſpoke more freely, and frequently ſaid that the Tyrant was not to be endured.*

CAP. CHAP.

CAP. VIII. Hæc ille intuens, quum, quemadmodum ſedaret, neſciret, & quorſum evaderet, timeret; Callicrates quidam, civis Athenienſis, qui ſimul cum eo ex Peloponneſo in Siciliam venerat, homo & callidus, & ad fraudem acutus, ſine ullâ religione ac fide, adit ad Dionem, & ait eum in magno periculo eſſe propter offenſionem populi, & odium militum: quod nullo modo evitare poſſet, niſi alicui ſuorum negotium daret, qui ſe ſimularet illi inimicum: quem ſi inveniſſet idoneum, facilè omnium animos cogniturum, adverſarioſque ſublaturum, quòd inimici ejus diffidenti ſuos ſenſus aperturi forent. Tali conſilio probato, excipit has partes ipſe Callicrates, & ſe armat imprudentiâ Dionis. Ad eum interficiendum ſocios conquirit: adverſarios ejus convenit: conjurationem confirmat. Res, multis conſciis, quæ gereretur, elata, refertur ad Ariſtomachen ſororem Dionis, uxoremque Areten. Illæ timore perterritæ conveniunt, cujus de periculo timebant. At ille negat à Callicrate fieri ſibi inſidias: ſed illa, quæ agerentur, fieri præcepto ſuo. Mulieres nihilo ſecùs Callicratem in ædem Proſerpinæ deducunt, ac jurare cogunt, nihil ab illo periculi fore Dioni. Ille hâc religione non modò

CHAP. VIII. *He ſeeing theſe Things, as he knew not how to put a Stop to them, and was afraid what* the Matter *would come to; one Callicrates, a Citizen of Athens, who had come together with him from Peloponneſus into Sicily, a ſubtle Fellow, and acute* enough *for the* Management of any *fraudulent Deſign, without any Religion and Honour, goes to Dion, and tells him, that he was in great Danger, becauſe of the Diſaffection of the People, and the Hatred of the Soldiers, which he could no Way avoid, unleſs he gave a Commiſſion to ſome of his Friends, to pretend himſelf an Enemy to him: If he could but find one proper* to his Purpoſe, *he might eaſily know the Minds of them all, and take off his Adverſaries, becauſe his Enemies would diſcover their Sentiments to one diſaffected to him. This Counſel being approved Callicrates himſelf undertakes this Buſineſs, and arms himſelf by the Imprudence of Dion: He ſeeks Accomplices to kill him; he gives a Meeting to his Enemies, and completely forms the Conſpiracy* againſt him. *The Matter which was carrying on, many being privy to it, being blabbed, it is carried to Aſtromache the Siſter of Dion, and his Wife Arete. They, being alarmed with Fear, go him, for whoſe Danger they were concerned. But he denies that any Plot was formed againſt him by Callicrates; but that thoſe Things, which were doing, were*

modò ab incepto non deterritus, ſed ad maturandum concitatus eſt, verens ne priùs conſilium aperiretur ſuum, quàm conata perfeciſſet.

done by his Order. The Women notwithſtanding bring Callicrates into the Temple of Proſerpine, and oblige him to ſwear, that there ſhould be no Danger to Dion from him. He not only was not deterred from his Undertaking by this ſacred Obligation, but was puſhed on to haſten the Execution, *fearing leſt his Deſign ſhould be diſcovered, before he could accompliſh what he attempted.*

CAP. IX. Hâc mente, proximo die feſto, quum à conventu ſe remotum Dion domi teneret, atque in conclavi edito recubuiſſet, conſciis loca munitiora oppidi tradidit: domum cuſtodibus ſepſit, à foribus qui non diſcederent, certos præfecit; navem triremem armatis ornat, Philocratique fratri ſuo tradit, eamque in portu agitari jubet, ut ſi exercere remiges vellet; cogitans, ſi fortè conſiliis obſtitiſſet fortuna, ut haberet, quò fugeret ad ſalutem. Suorum autem è numero Zacynthios adoleſcentes quoſdam elegit, cum audaciſſimos, tum viribus maximis; hiſque dat negotium, ut ad Dionem eant inermes, ſic ut conveniendi ejus gratiâ viderentur venire. Hi, propter notitiam, ſunt intromiſſi. At illi, ut limen ejus intrârunt, foribus obſeratis, in lecto cubantem invadunt, colligant: ſit

CHAP. IX. *With this Deſign, the next Holy-day, whilſt Dion kept himſelf retired, far from the Aſſembly of the People, and was laid down in an upper Room, he delivered to* ſome of *his Accomplices* all the *ſtrong Parts of the Town; he ſurrounded the Houſe with Guards; he placed truſty Men that ſhould not depart from the Door; he mans a Ship with three Banks of Oars, and delivers it to his Brother Philocrates, and orders it to be rowed about in the Harbour, as if he had a Mind to exerciſe the Rowers; intending, if Fortune obſtructed his Deſign, to have this to fly to for Security. He likewiſe choſe out the Number of his Men ſome * Zacynthian Youths, both very bold, and of very great Strength. And to theſe he gives Orders, to go to Dion unarmed, as if they ſeemed to come upon the Account of ſpeaking with him. Theſe, by Reaſon of their Acquaintance* with

* Zacynthus is an Iſland on the Weſtern Coaſt of Peloponneſus.

fit ſtrepitus, adeò ut exaudiri poſſit foris. Hic, ſicut antè ſæpe dictum eſt, quàm inviſa ſit ſingularis potentia, & miſeranda vita, qui ſe metui quàm amari malunt, cuivis facilè intellectu fuit. Namque illi ipſi cuſtodes, ſi propitiâ fuiſſent voluntate, foribus effractis, ſervare eum potuiſſent, quòd illi inermes telum foris flagitantes, vivum tenebant. Cui quum ſuccurreret nemo, Lyco quidam Syracuſanus per feneſtras gladium dedit, quo Dion interfectus eſt.

with him, *were let in: but they, as ſoon as they had entered his Door, bolting it, ſeize him lying on his Bed,* and *bind him. A Noiſe was made, ſo that it might be heard without Doors. Here, as has been often ſaid before, it was eaſy to be underſtood by any Body, how odious arbitrary Power is, and how miſerable the Life* of thoſe, *who chooſe rather to be feared than loved. For thoſe very Guards, if they had been* Men *of a favourable Diſpoſition* towards him, *by breaking the Door, might have ſaved him, becauſe they being unarmed held him alive, calling* to thoſe *without for a Weapon; whom whilſt nobody relieved, one Lyco a Syracuſan gave them a Sword through the Window, with which Dion was ſlain.*

CAP. X. Confectâ cædè, quum multitudo viſendi gratiâ introiiſſet, nonnulli ab inſciis pro noxüs conciduntur. Nam celeri rumore dilato, Dioni vim allatam, multi concurrerant quibus tale facinus diſplicebat. Hi, falsâ ſuſpicione ducti, immerentes inermes ut ſceleratos occidunt. Hujus de morte ut palam factum eſt, mirabiliter vulgi immutata eſt voluntas. Nam qui vivum eum tyrannum vocitârant, eundem liberatorem patriæ tyrannique expulſorem prædicabant. Sic ſubitò miſericordia odio ſucceſſerat, ut eum ſuo ſanguine, ſi poſſent, ab Acherōnte cuperent

CHAP. X. *After the Murder was committed, when the People come in to ſee him, ſome are ſlain by* thoſe that were *ignorant* of the Matter *for the guilty. For a ſpeedy Report being ſpread, that Violence had been offered to Dion, many had run together, whom this Fact diſpleaſed. Theſe, moved by a falſe Suſpicion, kill the innocent and unarmed, as if* they had been *guilty. As ſoon as publick* Notice *had been given of his Death, the Mind of the common People was wonderfully changed. For they who had called him,* when *alive, a Tyrant, called the ſame Man the Deliverer of his Country, and the Baniſher of a Tyrant. Thus ſuddenly had Pity ſucceeded*

cuperent redimere. Itaque in urbe, celeberrimo loco, elatus publicè, ſepulchri monumento donatus eſt. Diem obiit circiter annos quinquaginta quinque natus; quartum poſt annum, quàm ex Peloponneſo in Siciliam redierat.

their Hatred, that they deſired to redeem him with their own Blood from Hell, if they could. Wherefore being buried at the publick Expence in the moſt frequented Part of the City, he was honoured with a Monument of a Sepulchre. He died about fifty-five Years old; the fourth Year after he had returned out of Peloponneſus into Sicily.

XI. *IPHICRATES,*

XI.

IPHICRATES, Athenienſis.

CAP. I.

IPHICRATES, Athenienſis, non tam genere aut magnitudine rerum geſtarum, quàm diſciplinâ militari nobilitatus eſt. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non ſolùm ætatis ſuæ cum primis compararetur, ſed ne de majoribus natu quidem quiſquam anteponeretur. Multùm verò in bello verſatus, ſæpe exercitibus præfuit: nuſquam culpâ malè rem geſſit; ſemper conſilio vicit, tantùmque eo valuit, ut multa in re militari partim nova attulerit, partim meliora fecerit. Namque ille pedeſtria arma mutavit: quum, ante illum imperatorem maximis clypeis, brevibuſque haſtis minutis gladiis uterentur; ille, è contrario, Peltam pro Parmâ fecit, à quo poſtea Peltaſtæ pedites appellabantur, ut ad motus concurſuſque eſſent leviores. Haſtæ modum duplicavit, gladios longiores fecit. Idem genus loricarum mutavit, & pro ferreis atque æneis lineas dedit.

XI.

IPHICRATES, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

IPHICRATES, the Athenian, was not ſo famous for his Family, or the Greatneſs of the Things performed by him, *as his military Diſcipline. For he was ſuch a General, that he might not only be compared with the greateſt of his Age, but none of the old Generals could indeed be preferred before him. But having been much in War, he oftentimes commanded Armies: He never managed his Buſineſs ill by* his own *Fault; he always excelled in Contrivance, and was ſo able that Way, that he partly invented many new Things in the military Art, partly made Things better. For he changed the Foot Arms: When, before he* was *General, they made uſe of very great Shields, ſhort Spears, and little Swords; he, on the contrary, made the Pelta inſtead of the Parma, from which the Foot were afterwards called Peltaſtæ, that they might be nimbler for Motion and engaging. He doubled the Length of the Spear,* and *made the Swords longer. The ſame Man changed the Kind of* their *Coats of Mail*

dit. Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit; nam pondere detracto, quod æquè corpus tegeret, & leve eſſet, curavit.

Mail and gave them *Linen ones inſtead of Iron and Brazen ones; by which Act he rendered the Soldiers more light; for the Weight* of their Coats *being leſſened, he provided what would equally ſecure the Body, and was light.*

CAP. II. Bellum cum Thracibus geſſit; Seuthen, ſocium Athenienſium, in regnum reſtituit. Apud Corinthum tantâ ſeveritate exercitui præfuit, ut nullæ unquam in Græciâ, neque exercitatiores copiæ, neque magis dicto audientes fuerint duci; in eamque conſuetudinem adduxit, ut quum prælii ſignum ab imperatore eſſet datum, ſine ducis operâ ſic ordinatæ conſiſterent, ut ſinguli à peritiſſimo imperatore diſpoſiti viderentur. Hoc exercitu Moram Lacedæmoniorum intercepit; quod maximè totâ celebratum eſt Græciâ. Iterum eodem bello omnes copias eorum fugavit: quo facto magnam adeptus eſt gloriam. Quum Artaxerxes Ægyptio regi bellum inferre voluiſſet, Iphicratem ab Athenienſibus petivit ducem, quem præficeret exercitui conductitio, cujus numerus duodecim millium fuit. Quem quidem ſic omni diſciplinâ militari erudivit,

CHAP. II. *He carried on a War with the Thracians; reſtored Seuthes, the Ally of the Athenians, to his Kingdom. He commanded the Army at Corinth with ſo much Strictneſs, that no Troops were ever better exerciſed in Greece, or more obedient to their General, and he brought them to that Cuſtom, that when the Signal of Battle was given by the General, they would ſtand ſo regularly drawn up, that they each of them ſeemed* to have been *poſted by the moſt ſkilful Commander. With this Army he cut off the* * *Mora of the Lacedemonians; which was mightily celebrated throughout all Greece. He routed all their Forces again in the ſame War; by which Action he acquired great Glory. When Artaxerxes was reſolved to make War upon the King of Egypt, he deſired Iphicrates* for his *General of the Athenians, that he might place him at the Head of his Army of Mercenaries, the Number of which was twelve Thouſand; which indeed he ſo inſtructed in all military Diſcipline, that as formerly*

* A choice Body of Men among the Lacedemonians, concerning the Number of which Authors are not agreed, ſome making them to be five Hundred, ſome ſix, and ſome eight.

vit, ut quemadmodum quondam Fabiani, milites Romani appellati ſunt, ſic Iphicratenſes apud Græcos in ſummâ laude fuerint. Idem ſubſidio Lacedæmoniis profectus, Epaminondæ retardavit impetum: Nam niſi ejus adventus appropinquâſſet, non priùs Thebani Spartâ abſceſſiſſent, quàm captam incendio delêſſent.

formerly the Roman Soldiers were called * *Fabians, ſo the Iphicratenſians among the Greeks were in the higheſt Reputation. The ſame* Man, *going to the Relief of the Lacedemonians, ſtopped the Progreſs of Epaminondas; for unleſs his Coming had been near at hand, the Thebans would not have departed from Sparta before they had taken* and *deſtroyed it by Fire.*

Cap. III. Fuit autem et animo magno & corpore, imperatoriâque formâ, ut ipſo aſpectu cuivis injiceret admirationem ſui: ſed in labore remiſſus nimis, parumque patiens, ut Theopompus memoriæ prodidit: bonus verò civis, fideque magnâ; quod cùm in aliis rebus declaraverit, tum maximè in Amyntæ Macedonis liberis tuendis. Namque Eurydice mater Perdiccæ & Philippi, cum his duobus liberis, Amyntâ mortuo, ad Iphicratem confugit, ejuſque opibus defenſa eſt. Vixit ad ſenectutem, placatis in ſe ſuorum civium animis. Cauſam capitis ſemel dixit bello ſociali ſimul cum Timotheo, eoque judicio eſt abſolutus.

Chap. III. *He was too a Man of a great Mind and Body, and the Appearance of a General, that by his very Aſpect he would have ſtruck any one with Admiration, but in Application to Buſineſs too remiſs, and little able to endure Hardſhip, as Theopompus has left upon Record; but a good Citizen, and of great Honour: which he ſhewed both in other Things, and eſpecially in protecting the Children of Amyntas the Macedonian: For Eurydice the Mother of Perdiccas and Philip, with thoſe two Boys,* after *Amyntas* was *dead, fled to Iphicrates, and was ſecured by his Power. He lived to* a good *old Age, with the Minds of his Countrymen well affected towards him. Once he was tried for his Life, in the Social*

* If the Roman Soldiers were uſed to be called Fabians, which is an Account given by none but our Author, that I know of, it was occaſioned by the Gallantry of the Fabian Family, that undertook to manage the War againſt the Veientes by themſelves, and were cut off 300 of them in one Battle, about 475 Years before Chriſt.

abſolutus. Mneſthea filium reliquit ex Threſsâ natum, Coti regis filiâ. Is quum interrogaretur, utrum pluris patrem matremve faceret; Matrem, inquit. Id quum omnibus mirum videretur; At ille, Meritò, inquit, facio; nam pater, quantùm in ſe fuit, Thracem me genuit; contrâ, mater Athenienſem.

* *Social War, together with Timotby, and was acquitted in the Trial. He left a Son,* by Name *Mneſtheus, born of a Thracian Lady, the Daughter of King Cotus. He being aſked, Whether he valued his Father or his Mother more, ſaid, His Mother: A that appeared ſtrange to every Body; But, ſays he, I do it for good Reaſon; for my Father, as much as lay in him, begot me a Thracian; on the other hand, my Mother* made *me an Athenian,* as much as lay in her.

* This was carried on by the Byzantians, Coans, Chians, Rhodians, and Mauſolus Prince of Caria, againſt the Athenians, about 360 Years before Chriſt.

XII. *CHABRIAS,*

XII.

CHABRIAS, *Athenienſis.*

CAP. I.

CHABRIAS Athenienſis. Hic quoquè in ſummis habitus eſt ducibus, reſque multas memoriâ dignas geſſit. Sed ex his elucet maximè inventum ejus in prælio quod apud Thebas fecit, quum Bœotiis ſubſidio veniſſet. Namque in eo, victoriâ fidente ſummo duce Ageſilao, fugatis jam ab eo conductitiis catervis, reliquam phalangem loco vetuit cedere; obnixoque genu ſcuto, projectâque haſtâ, impetum excipere hoſtium docuit. Id novum Ageſilaus intuens progredi non eſt auſus, ſuoſque jam incurrentes tubâ revocavit. Hoc uſque eò in Græciâ famâ celebratum eſt, ut illo ſtatu Chabrias ſibi ſtatuam fieri voluerit, quæ publicè ei ab Athenienſibus in foro conſtituta

XII.

CHABRIAS, *the Athenian.*

CHAP. I.

CHABRIAS the Athenian. He too was reckoned amongſt the greateſt Generals, and performed many Things worthy of Memory. But of theſe, his Invention in the Battle which he fought at Thebes, when he went to the Relief of the Bœotians, is the moſt famous. For in that Battle, *that great Commander Ageſilaus making himſelf ſure of the Victory, the hired Troops being now routed by him, he forbad the reſt of the * Phalanx to quit their Ground; and taught them to receive the Enemy's Attack, with their Knee reſted againſt their Shield, and their Spear held out. Ageſilaus, obſerving that new* Contrivance, *durſt not advance, and called off his* Men *now ruſhing forward by* Sound of *Trumpet. This was ſo much celebrated by Fame in Greece, that Chabrias had*

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* Phalanx properly ſignifies a Body of Macedonian Foot, ſixteen Thouſand in Number, drawn up in very cloſe Order, armed with Shield and Spear. But the Word was uſed at laſt to ſignify any Body of Foot in cloſe Array, as it is here.

ſtituta eſt. Ex quo factum eſt, ut poſtea athletæ, cæterique artifices, his ſtatibus in ſtatuis ponendis uterentur, in quibus victoriam eſſent adepti.

a Fancy to have the Statue made for him in that Poſture, which was erected for him at the publick Charge by the Athenians in the Forum. From whence it was, that afterwards Wreſtlers, and other Artiſts, in the erecting of their Statues, made uſe of thoſe Poſtures in which they had gotten a Victory.

CAP. II. Chabrias autem multa in Europâ bella adminiſtravit, quum dux Athenienſium eſſet: multa in Ægypto ſuâ ſponte geſſit; nam Nectanebum adjutum profectus, regnum ei conſtituit. Fecit idem Cypri; ſed publicè ab Athenienſibus Evagoræ adjutor datus; neque priùs inde deceſſit, quàm totam inſulam bello devinceret: quâ ex re Athenienſes magnam gloriam ſunt adepti. Interim bellum inter Ægyptios & Perſas conflatum eſt: et Athenienſes cum Artaxerxe ſocietatem habebant; Lacedæmonii cum Ægyptiis, à quibus magnas prædas Ageſilaus rex eorum faciebat. Id intuens Chabrias, quum in re nullâ Ageſilao cederet, ſuâ ſponte eos adjutum profectus, Ægyptiæ claſſi præfuit, pedeſtribus copiis Ageſilaus.

CHAP. II. *Chabrias likewiſe carried on many Wars in Europe, when he was General of the Athenians. He carried on many in Egypt of his own Accord; for going to aſſiſt Nectanebus, he ſecured his Kingdom to him. He did the ſame at Cyprus; but being given by the Government of the Athenians as an Aſſiſtant to Evagoras; nor did he depart from thence, before he had conquered the whole Iſland in the War: From which Thing the Athenians reaped a great deal of Glory. In the mean Time a War was commenced betwixt the Egyptians and the Perſians; and the Athenians had an Alliance with Artaxerxes; the Lacedemonians with the Egyptians, from whom Ageſilaus their King got Abundance of Plunder. Chabrias ſeeing that, as he yielded in nothing to Ageſilaus, going of his own Accord to aſſiſt them, commanded the Egyptian Fleet, Ageſilaus the Land Forces.*

CAP. III. Tum præfecti regis Perſiæ legatos miſerunt Athenas, queſtum, quòd Chabrias adverſum regem bellum gereret cum Ægyptiis. Atheni-

CHAP. III. *Upon that, the King of Perſia's Commanders ſent Meſſengers to Athens, to complain, that Chabrias made War with the Egyptians againſt the King.*

Athenienſes diem certam Chabriæ præſtiterunt, quam ante domum niſi rediſſet capitis illum damnaturos denunciârunt. Hoc ille nuncio Athenas rediit, neque ibi diutiùs eſt moratus, quàm fuit neceſſe. Non enim libenter erat ante oculos civium ſuorum, quòd & vivebat lautè, & indulgebat ſibi liberaliùs, quàm ut invidiam vulgi poſſet effugere. Eſt enim hoc commune vitium in magnis liberiſque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriæ comes ſit, & libenter de iis detrahant, quos eminere videant altiùs: neque animo æquo pauperes alienam opulentium intuentur fortunam. Itaque Chabrias, quoad ei licebat, plurimùm aberat. Neque verò ſolus ille aberat Athenis libenter, ſed omnes ferè principes fecerunt idem; quòd tantùm ſe ab invidiâ putabant futuros, quantùm à conſpectu ſuorum receſſiſſent. Itaque Conon plurimum Cypri vixit, Iphicrates in Thraciâ, Timotheus Leſbi, Chares in Sigæo. Diſſimilis quidem Chares horum & factis & moribus; ſed tamen Athenis & honoratus & potens.

King. The Athenians fixed Chabrias a certain Day, before which if he did not return home, they declared they would condemn him to die. Upon this Meſſage he returned to Athens, nor did he ſtay there longer than was neceſſary. For he was not very willingly under the Eyes of his Countrymen, becauſe he both lived very handſomely, and indulged himſelf more freely, than that he could poſſibly *eſcape the Odium of the Vulgar: For this is a common Fault in great and free States, that popular Hatred is the Attendant of Glory; and they willingly take from thoſe whom they ſee tower above* other People; *nor do the Poor look upon the Fortune of the Wealthy with an eaſy Mind: Wherefore Chabrias, as far as was poſſible for him, was very much away. Nor was he alone gladly abſent from Athens, but almoſt all the great Men did the ſame; becauſe they thought they ſhould be juſt ſo far* removed *from popular Hatred as they retired from the Sight of their* Countrymen. *Wherefore Conon lived very much at Cyprus, Iphicrates in Thrace, Timotheus at Leſbos, Chares in* * *Sigeum. Chares* was *unlike them indeed, both in his Actions and Manners, but yet* he was *both honoured and powerful at Athens.*

* A Town of Troas near the Helleſpont.

CAP. IV. Chabrias autem periît bello ſociali, tali modo. Oppugnabant Athenienſes Chium: erat in claſſe Chabrias privatus, ſed omnes, qui in magiſtratu erant, auctoritate anteibat: eumque magis milites, quàm qui præerant, aſpiciebant: quæ res ei maturavit mortem; nam dum primus ſtudet portum intrare, & gubernatorem jubet eò dirigere navem, ipſe ſibi perniciei fuit. Quum enim eò penetrâſſet, cæteræ non ſunt ſecutæ. Quo facto circumfuſus hoſtium concurſu, quum fortiſſimè pugnaret, navis roſtro percuſſa, cœpit fidere. Hinc quum refugere poſſet, ſi in mare dejeciſſet; quod ſuberat claſſis Athenienſium, quæ exciperet natantem; perire maluit, quàm, armis abjectis, navem relinquere, in quâ fuerat vectus. Id cæteri facere noluerunt, qui nando in tutum pervenerunt. At ille, præſtare honeſtam mortem exiſtimans turpi vitæ, cominus pugnans telis hoſtium interfectus eſt.

CHAP. IV. *Chabrias loſt his Life in the Social War, in this Manner. The Athenians were aſſaulting* * *Chius: Chabrias was on board the Fleet without any Command, but he exceeded all thoſe that were in Commiſſion, in Authority; and the Soldiers more regarded him, than thoſe that commanded them: Which Thing haſtened his Death for him: For whilſt he endeavours to enter the Harbour firſt, and orders the Maſter to ſteer the Ship thither, he was his own Ruin; for after he had made his Way into it, the reſt did not follow. Upon which, being ſurrounded by a Concourſe of the Enemy, whilſt he fought very bravely, his Ship, being ſtruck with a* † *Roſtrum, began to ſink. Though he might have eſcaped from thence, if he would have thrown himſelf into the Sea, becauſe the Fleet of the Athenians was at hand, to have taken him up as he ſwam; he choſe rather to periſh, than throwing away his Arms, to quit the Ship in which he had ſailed. The reſt would not do that, who came off by ſwimming. But he, thinking an honourable Death better than a ſcandalous Life, was ſlain with the Enemies Weapons, fighting Hand to Hand with them.*

* An Iſland on the Ægean Sea, on the Coaſt of Ionia.

† I have uſed the Latin Word, becauſe we have none in our Language proper for the Purpoſe. It is here put for a ſtrong, ſharp Iron Spike, with which the Prows of the *Longæ Naves*, or Men of War, were armed, in order to ſink one another in Sea-Fights.

XIII.

TIMOTHEUS, Cononis filius, Athenienſis.

CAP. I.

TIMOTHEUS, Cononis filius, Athenienſis. Hic à patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim diſertus, impiger, laborioſus, rei militaris peritus, neque minùs civitatis regendæ. Multa hujus ſunt præclarè facta, ſed hæc maximè illuſtria. Olynthios & Byzantios bello ſubegit: Samum cepit, in quâ oppugnandâ, ſuperiori bello, Athenienſes mille & ducenta talenta conſumpſerant. Hanc ille ſine ullâ publicâ impensâ populo reſtituit. Adverſus Cotyn bella geſſit, ab eoque mille & ducenta talenta prædæ in publicum detulit. Cyzicum obſidione liberavit. Ariobarzani ſimul cum Ageſilao auxilio profectus eſt: à quo, quum Laco pecuniam numeratum accepiſſet, ille cives

XIII.

TIMOTHEUS, *the Son of* Conon, *the Athenian.*

CHAP. I.

TIMOTHEUS was *the Son of Conon the Athenian. He increaſed the Glory received from his Father, by* his *many excellent Qualities; for he was eloquent, active, laborious, ſkilled in military Affairs, and no leſs in the Government of the State. There are a great many famous Actions of his* upon Record, *but theſe the moſt illuſtrious. He ſubdued the* * *Olynthians and Byzantians in War; and took Samus, in the aſſaulting of which the Athenians, in the former War, had ſpent a thouſand and two hundred Talents. This he reſtored to the People, without any publick Charge. He carried on a War againſt* † *Cotys, and brought from him a thouſand two hundred Talents of Plunder into the publick Treaſury. He delivered Cyzicus*

* Olynthus was a City of Macedonia, not far from the Toronean Bay.

† Cotys was a King of Thrace.

ves ſuos agro atque urbibus augeri maluit, quàm id ſumere cujus partem domum ſuam ferre poſſet. Itaque accepit Erichthonem & Seſtum.

* *Cyzicus from a Siege. He went along with Ageſilaus to the Aſſiſtance of* † *Ariobarzanes; from whom, whilſt the Lacedemonian received ready Caſh, he choſe rather* to have *his Countrymen enriched with Lands and Cities, than take that, Part of which he might carry to his own Home: And accordingly he received Erichthon and* ‡ *Seſtus.*

CAP. II. Idem claſſi præfectus circumvehens Peloponneſum, Laconicam populatus, claſſem eorum fugavit. Corcyram ſub imperium Athenienſium redegit; ſocioſque idem adjunxit Epirotas, Acarnanas, Chaonas, omneſque eas gentes quæ mare illud adjacent. Quo facto, Lacedæmonii de diutinâ contentione deſtiterunt, & ſuâ ſponte Athenienſibus imperii maritimi principatum conceſſerunt, pacemque his legibus conſtituerunt: ut Athenienſes mari duces eſſent. Quæ victoria tantæ fuit Atticis lætitiæ, ut tum primum atræ PACI PUBLICÆ ſint factæ, eique deæ pulvinar ſit inſtitutum. Cujus laudis ut memo-

CHAP. II. *The ſame* Man *being Admiral of the Fleet,* and *ſailing round Peloponneſus, having laid waſte* ‖ *Laconia, defeated their Fleet. He reduced Corcyra under the Dominion of the Athenians; and joined* with them *as Allies the Epirotians, the* ** *Acarnanians, the* †† *Chaonians, and all thoſe Nations which lie upon that Sea. After which, the Lacedemonians deſiſted from their long Diſpute, and, of their own Accord, yielded up the Command at Sea to the Athenians, and made a Peace upon theſe Terms; that the Athenians ſhould be Commanders at Sea. Which Victory was* the Cauſe of *ſo much Joy to the Athenians, that then firſt* of all *Altars were erected to* PUBLICK PEACE; *and a* § *Bed ordered for that*

* Cyzicus was a Town of Aſia Minor upon the Propontis.
† One of the King of Perſia's Viceroys in Aſia Minor.
‡ A Town of the Thracian Cherſoneſe upon the Helleſpont.
‖ The Territory of Sparta in the South Parts of Peloponneſus.
** Acarnania was in the Weſt of Achaia, joining upon Epire.
†† The Chaonians were a People of Epire.
§ It was uſual with the Greeks and Romans to have rich Beds ſet up in the Temples of their Gods, upon which their Images were placed in their Feſtivals.

memoria maneret, Timotheo publicè ſtatuam in foro poſuerunt: qui honos huic uni ante hoc tempus contigit, ut quum patri populus ſtatuam poſuiſſet, filio quoquè daret. Sic juxta poſita recens filii veterem patris renovavit memoriam.

that Goddeſs. And that the Memory of this glorious Action might remain, they erected a Statue to Timothy in the Forum at the publick Charge. Which Honour happened to him alone at that Time, that after the People had erected a Statue to the Father, they ſhould give one to the Son too. Thus the freſh Statue *of the Son, placed nigh the other's, revived the old Memory of the Father's.*

CAP. III. Hic quum eſſet magno natu, & magiſtratus gerere deſiiſſet, bello Athenienſes undique premi ſunt cœpti. Defecerat Samus, deſciêrat Helleſpontus, Philippus, jam tunc valens Macedo, multa moliebatur: cui oppoſitus Chares quum eſſet, non ſatis in eo præſidii putabatur; fit Mneſtheus prætor, filius Iphicratis, gener Timothei, &, ut ad bellum proficiſcatur, decernitur. Huic in conſilium dantur duo uſu & ſapientiâ præſtantes, quorum conſilio uteretur, pater & ſocer: quòd in his tanta erat auctoritas, ut magna ſpes eſſet, per eos amiſſa poſſe recuperari. Hi quum Samum profecti eſſent, & eodem Chares, eorum adventu cognito, cum ſuis copiis proficiſceretur, ne quid abſente ſe geſtum videretur; accidit,

CHAP. III. *When he was now old, and had given over bearing Offices, the Athenians began to be diſtreſſed in War on all Hands. Samus had revolted; the Helleſpont had left them; Philip the Macedonian, being then ſtrong, attempted many Things: Againſt whom as Chares was employed, and it was thought there was not Security enough in him, Mneſtheus is made Commander, the Son of Iphicrates, Son-in law of Timothy, and a Decree is paſſed, that he ſhould go to the War. Two, exceeding in Experience and Wiſdom, are given him to * adviſe with, his Father and his Father-in-Law: Becauſe there was ſo great Authority in them, that there were great Hopes, that what had been loſt might be recovered by them. After theſe were come to Samus, and Chares, having known of their Coming, was going to the ſame*

* The Words, *quorum conſilio uteretur*, ſeem to have been put in the Margin by ſomebody, as a Gloſs upon the Words *in conſilium*; and at laſt by ſome careleſs Tranſcriber of Books taken into the Text: For they are wholly needleſs.

accidit, quum ad insulam appropinquarent, ut magna tempestas oriretur; quam evitare duo veteres imperatores utile arbitrati suam classem supprefferunt. At ille, temerariâ usus ratione, non cessit majorum natu auctoritati; &, ut in sua manu esset fortuna, quò contenderat, pervenit, eòdemque ut sequerentur, ad Timotheum & Iphicratem nuncium misit. Hinc malè re gestâ, compluribus amissis navibus, eòdem, unde erat profectus, se recepit, literasque Athenas publicè misit, sibi proclive fuisse, Samum capere nisi à Timotheo & Iphicrate desertus esset. Ob eam rem in crimen vocabantur. Populus acer, suspicax, mobilis, adversarius, invidus etiam potentiæ, domum revocat: accusantur proditionis. Hoc judicio damnatur Timotheus, lisque ejus æstimatur centum talentis. Ille, odio ingratæ civitatis coactus, Chalcidem se contulit.

same Place with his Forces, left any Thing should seem to be done in his Absence; it happened, as they were approaching the Island, that a great Storm arose; which the two old Commanders, thinking it convenient to avoid, stopped their Fleet; but he, taking a rash Course, did not yield to the Authority of his Elders, and, as if Fortune had been in his Power, came to the Place he had steered for, and sent a Messenger to Timothy and Iphicrates to follow him to the same Place. Upon this, his Business being ill managed, and several Ships being lost, he betook himself to the same Place from whence he had come, and sent Letters to Athens to the Government, that it had been an easy Matter for him to take Samus, if he had not been deserted by Timothy and Iphicrates. They were called to an Account for that Matter. The People being violent, suspicious, fickle, all against them, envious also of their Power, send for them home; they are impeached of Treason; Timothy is condemned in this Trial, and his Fine set at an hundred Talents. He, forced by the Hatred of the ungrateful City, betook himself to Chalcis.

CAP. IV. Hujus post mortem, quum populum judicii sui pœniteret, mulctæ novem partes detraxit, & decem talenta Cononem filium ejus, ad muri quandam partem reficiendam, jussit dare. In

CHAP. IV. *After his Death, the People being sorry for their Sentence on him, took off nine Parts of the Fine, and ordered his Son Conon to give ten Talents, to repair a certain Part of the Wall: In which a Variety of*

in quo fortunæ varietas eſt animadverſa: Nam quos avus Conon muros ex hoſtium prædâ patriæ reſtituerat, eoſdem nepos cum ſummâ ignominiâ familiæ, ex ſuâ re familiari reficere coactus eſt. Timothei autem moderatæ, ſapientiſque vitæ, quum pluraque poſſimus proferre teſtimonia, uno erimus contenti, quòd ex eo facilè conjici poterit, quàm charus ſuis fuerit. Quum Athenis adoleſcentulus cauſam diceret, non ſolùm amici privatique hoſpites ad eum defendendum convenerunt, ſed etiam in eis Jaſon tyrannus, qui illo tempore fuit omnium potentiſſimus. His quum in patriâ ſine ſatellitibus ſe tutum non arbitraretur, Athenas ſine ullo præſidio venit; tantique hoſpitem fecit, ut mallet ſe capitis periculum adire, quàm Timotheo, de famâ dimicanti, deeſſe. Hunc adverſus tamen Timotheus poſtea, populi juſſu, bellum geſſit: Patriæ enim ſanctiora jura, quàm hoſpitii, eſſe duxit. Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Athenienſium; Iphicratis, Chabriæ, Timothei; neque poſt illorum obitum quiſquam dux illâ urbe fuit dignus memoriâ.

of Fortune was obſerved: For the Grandſon was obliged with great Diſgrace to his Family, out of his own Eſtate, to repair the ſame Walls, which his Grandfather Conon had rebuilt for his Country out of the Plunder of its *Enemies. But tho' we could produce a great many Proofs of the moderate and wiſe Life of Timothy, we will be content with one, becauſe it may be eaſily conjectured from thence, how dear he was to his* Countrymen. *When, in his Youth, he was* upon a certain Occaſion *brought upon his Trial at Athens, not only his Friends and private Hoſts met to defend him, but likewiſe amongſt them, Jaſon a Prince of* Theſſaly, *who at that Time was the moſt powerful of all* others. *He, tho' he thought himſelf not ſafe in his own Country without Guards, came to Athens without any Guard; and valued his Friend ſo much, that he choſe rather to run the Hazard of his Life than be wanting to Timothy,* now *ſtruggling for his Honour. Yet Timothy carried on a War againſt him afterwards, by the Order of the People: For he reckoned the Rights of his Country more ſacred than* thoſe *of Friendſhip. This was the laſt Age of the Athenian Generals;* i. e. the Age *of Iphicrates, Chabrias,* and *Timothy: neither was there any General in that City worth mentioning after their Death.*

XIV.

DATAMES.

CAP. I.

VENIO nunc ad fortiſſimum virum, maximique conſilii, omnium barbarorum, exceptis duobus Carthaginienſibus, Hamilcare & Hannibale. De quo hoc plura referemus, quòd & obſcuriora ſunt ejus geſta pleraque, & ea quæ proſperè ei ceſſerunt, non magnitudine copiarum, ſed conſilio, quo tum omnes ſuperabat, acciderunt. Quorum niſi ratio explicata fuerit, res apparere non potuerunt. Datames patre Camiſſare, natione Care; matre Scythiſſa natus. Primum militum numero fuit apud Artaxerxem eorum qui regiam tuebantur. Pater ejus Camiſſares, quòd & manu fortis, & bello ſtrenuus, & regi multis locis fidelis erat repertus, habuit provinciam Ciliciæ juxta Cappadociam, quam incolunt Leucoſyri. Datames militare munus fungens, primùm qualis eſſet aperuit, bello quod rex adverſus Caduſios geſſit: Namque hic, multis millibus hoſtium & regiorum inter-

XIV.

DATAMES.

CHAP. I.

COME now to the braveſt Man, and a Man *of the greateſt Conduct, of all the Barbarians; except the two Carthaginians, Hamilcar and Hannibal: Concerning whom I ſhall ſay the more, becauſe moſt of his Actions are ſomewhat obſcure, and the Things that ſucceeded well with him were brought about, not by the Greatneſs of Force but Conduct, in which he exceeded all Men at that Time: The Manner of which unleſs it be declared, the Things* themſelves *cannot appear. Datames was come of a Father, by* Name *Camiſſares,* and *by Nation a Carian; of a Mother* that was *a Scythian. He was firſt of all one of thoſe Soldiers under Artaxerxes, who defended the Palace. His Father Camiſſares, becauſe he had been found brave and active in War, and faithful to the King, upon many Occaſions, had the Province of Cilicia, near Cappadocia, which the Leucoſyrians inhabit. Datames following the Buſineſs of a Soldier, firſt diſcovered what he was, in the War which the King carried*

interfectis, magni fuit ejus opera. Quo factum eſt, ut quum in eo bello cecidiſſet Camiſſares, paterna ei traderetur provincia.

carried on againſt the Caduſians: For there, after a great many Thouſands of the Enemies, and the King's Men were ſlain, his Service was of great Account. For which Reaſon it was, that Camiſſares having fallen in that War, his Father's Province was given him.

CAP. II. Pari ſe virtute poſtea præbuit, quum Autophradates juſſu regis bello perſequeretur eos, qui defecerant: Namque ejus operâ hoſtes, quum caſtra jam intrâſſent, profligati ſunt, exercituſque reliquus conſervatus regis eſt. Quâ ex re majoribus rebus præeſſe cœpit. Erat eo tempore Thyus, dynaſtes Paphlagoniæ, antiquo genere natus, à Pylæmene illo, quem Homerus Troico bello à Patroclo interfectum ait. Is regni dicto audiens non erat; quam ob cauſam bello eum perſequi conſtituit, eique rei præfecit Datamen, propinquum Paphlagonis; namque ex fratre & ſorore erant nati. Quam ob cauſam Datames omnia primùm experiri voluit, ut ſine armis propinquum ad officium reduceret. Ad quem quum veniſſet ſine præſidio, quòd ab amico nullas veretur inſidias, penè interiit. Nam Thyus eum clam interficere

CHAP. II. *He afterwards behaved himſelf with the like Gallantry, when Autophradates, by the King's Order, fell upon thoſe by War, who had revolted: For by his Means the Enemies, after they had now entered the Camp, were routed, and the reſt of the King's Army was ſaved. After which Thing he began to command in greater Affairs. Thyus at that Time was Prince of * Paphlagonia, of an ancient Family, deſcended from that Pylæmenes, who, Homer ſays, was ſlain by Patroclus in the Trojan War. He was not obedient to the King; for which Reaſon he reſolved to fall upon him in a War, and placed Datames over that Affair, a Relation of the Paphlagonian; for they were Brother's and Siſter's Children. For which Reaſon Datames had a Mind to try all Things firſt, to bring back his Relation to his Duty, without Arms. To whom when he was come without any Guard, becauſe he feared no Treachery from a Friend, he had like to have loſt his Life. For*

* Paphlagonia was a Country in Aſia Minor, bordering upon the Euxine Sea.

terficere voluit. Erat mater cum Datame amita Paphlagonis: ea, quid ageretur, rescîit, filiumque monuit. Ille fugâ periculum evitavit, bellumq; indixit Thyo. In quo quum ab Ariobarzane, præfecto Lydiæ & Ioniæ, totiusque Phrygiæ, desertus esset, nihilo segniùs perseveravit, vivumque Thyum cepit, cum uxore & liberis.

Thyus designed to have killed him privately. His Mother was with Datames, the Aunt of the Paphlagonian; she understood what was doing, and warned her Son of it. He avoided the Danger by Flight, and proclaimed War against Thyus; in which, though he was deserted by Ariobarzanes, the Governor of Lydia, and Ionia, and all Phrygia, he persisted nevertheless vigorously, and took Thyus alive, with his Wife and Children.

CAP. III. Cujus facti ne priùs fama ad regem, quàm ipse perveniret, dedit operam. Itaque omnibus insciis, eò ubi erat rex, venit; posteroque die Thyum, hominem maximi corporis, terribilique facie, quod & niger, & capillo longo, barbâque erat prolixâ, optimâ veste contexit, quam satrapæ regii gerere consueverant. Ornavit etiam torque, atque armillis aureis, cæteroque regio cultu. Ipse agresti, duplicique, amiculo circundatus, hirtâque tunicâ, gerens in capite galeam venatoriam, dextrâ manu clavam, sinistrâ copulam, quâ vinctum ante se Thyum agebat, ut si feram bestiam captam duceret. Quem quum omnes prospicerent, propter novitatem ornatûs ignotamque formam, ob eamque rem magnus esset concursus, fuit non nemo qui agnosceret Thyum, regique nunciaret. Primo non accredidit:

CHAP. III. *The Fame of which Fact he did his Endeavour should not come to the King, before himself. Wherefore he came to the Place where the King was,* whilst *all People were ignorant* of it; *and the Day after cloathed Thyus, a Man of huge Body, and terrible Countenance, because he was both black, and* had *long Hair, and a long Beard, in a fine Robe, which the King's Viceroys used to wear. He dressed him up likewise in a Chain and Bracelets of Gold, and the other royal Apparel. He being clad in a rustick Coat double, with a coarse Tunick, wearing a Hunter's Cap upon his Head,* and having *in his right Hand a Club, in his left a Chain, in which he drove Thyus bound before him, as if he was carrying a wild Beast* which he had *taken. Whom whilst all People gazed at, because of the Oddness of the Dress, and for that Reason a great Crowd was gathered* about him, *there was somebody who knew Thyus, and*

dit: Itaque Pharnabazum misit exploratum; à quo ut rem gestam comperit, statim admitti jussit, magnopere delectatus cum facto, tum ornatu: in primis, quòd nobilis rex in potestatem inopinanti venerat. Itaque magnificè Datamen donatum ad exercitum misit, qui tum contrahebatur, duce Pharnabazo & Tithrauste, ad bellum Ægyptium, parique eum atque illos imperio esse jussit. Postea verò quàm Pharnabazum rex revocavit, illi summa imperii tradita est.

and told the King. At first he did not believe it: wherefore he sent Pharnabazus to enquire; from whom, as soon as he understood the Thing done, he ordered him immediately to be admitted, and was mightily pleased both with the Fact, and the Dress; especially, that a noble King was come into his Possession, whilst he was *unaware* of it. *Wherefore he sent Datames nobly presented to the Army which was then raising under the Generals Pharnabazus and Tithrausles, for the Egyptian War, and ordered him to be in the same Command as they; but after the King recalled Pharnabazus, the chief Direction of the War was delivered to him.*

CAP. IV. Hic quum maximo studio compararet exercitum, Ægyptumque proficisci pararet, subito à rege literæ sunt ei missæ, ut Aspim aggrederetur, qui Cataoniam tenebat; quæ gens jacet supra Ciliciam, confinis Cappadociæ. Namque Aspis saltuosam regionem, castelliſque munitam incolens, non solùm imperio regis non parebat, sed etiam finitimas regiones vexabat, &, quæ regi portarentur, abripiebat. Datames, etsi longè aberat ab his regionibus, & à majore re abstrahebatur, tamen

CHAP. IV. *Whilst he was raising an Army with the utmost Application, and was preparing to march for Egypt, a Letter was suddenly sent him by the King, to attack Aspis, who held * Cataonia; which Nation lies above Cilicia, bordering upon Cappadocia. For Aspis, inhabiting a woody Country, and fortified with Castles, and not only disobey the King's Authority, but likewise harrassed the neighbouring Countries, and intercepted what was carried* that Way *for the King. Datames, though he was a great Way from these Parts, and was taken from a greater Matter, yet*

* Cataonia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, are all Provinces in the East Parts of Asia Minor.

tamen regis voluntati morem gerendum putavit. Itaque cum paucis ſed viris fortibus navem conſcendit; exiſtimans, id quod accidit, faciliùs ſe imprudentem & imparatum parvâ manu oppreſſurum quàm paratum quamvis magno exercitu. Hâc delatus, in Ciliciam egreſſus, inde dies noctesque iter faciens, Taurum tranſiit, eòque quò ſtuduerat, venit. Quærit quibus locis ſit Aſpis; cognoſcit haud longè abeſſe, profectumque eum venatum: Quem dum ſpeculatur, adventûs ejus cauſa cognoſcitu. Piſidas, cum iis quos ſecum habebat, ad reſiſtendum Aſpis comparat. Id Datames ubi audivit, arma capit, ſuos ſequi jubet. Ipſe equo concitato ad hoſtem vehitur; quem procul Aſpis conſpiciens ad ſe ferentem pertimeſcit; atque à conatu reſiſtendi deterritus ſeſe dedit. Hunc Datames vinctum ad regem ducendum tradit Mithridati.

yet thought it neceſſary to pay Obedience to the King's Pleaſure. Wherefore he goes aboard a Ship with a few but ſtout Men, thinking that, which fell out, that he might more eaſily maſter him, unaware of him, *and unprepared, with a ſmall Force, than prepared* for him, *with any Army how great ſoever. Arriving in this* Ship *in Cilicia, and landing, making his March Night and Day, he paſſed Taurus, and came to the* Place *which he had intended for. He enquires in what Parts Aſpis was: He underſtands he was not far off, and was gone hunting: Whom whilſt he lies in wait for, the Reaſon of his coming is known. Aſpis prepares the * Piſidians, and thoſe he had with him, for a Reſiſtance. When Datames heard that, he takes Arms, and orders his Men to follow him. He, putting on his Horſe, rides towards the Enemy; whom Aſpis ſeeing at a Diſtance coming towards him, affrighted and deterred from his Attempt of reſiſting, ſurrenders himſelf. Datames delivers him bound to Mithridates, to be led to the King.*

CAP. V. Hæc dum geruntur, Artaxerxes reminiſcens à quanto bello ad quam parvam rem principem ducum miſiſſet, ſe ipſe reprehendit, & nuncium ad exercitum Acen miſit, quòd nondum

CHAP. V. *Whilſt theſe Things are doing, Artaxerxes conſidering from how great a War, to what an inconſiderable Buſineſs, he had ſent the greateſt of his Generals, blamed himſelf* for it, *and diſpatches away a Meſſenger to*

* Piſidia is a Country of Aſia Minor beyond Caria, bordering upon Lycia and Pamphylia.

dum Datamen profectum, putabat, qui ei diceret, ne ab exercitu discederet. Hic, priusquam perveniret, quo erat profectus, in itinere convenit, qui Aspim ducebant. Quâ celeritate quum magnam benevolentiam regis Datames consecutus esset, non minorem invidiam aulicorum excepit, quòd illum unum pluris, quàm se omnes, fieri videbant: Quo facto, cuncti ad eum opprimendum consenserunt. Hæc Pandates, gazæ custos regiæ, amicus Datami, per scripta ei mittit: In quibus docet, eum magno fore periculo, si quid, illo imperante, in Ægypto adversi accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem regum, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunæ suæ: Quo facilè fieri, ut impellantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductu res malè gestæ nuncientur. Illum hoc majore fore discrimine quòd quibus rex maximè obediat, eos habeat inimicissimos. Talibus ille literis cognitis, quum jam ad exercitum Acen venisset, quòd non ignorabat ea verè scripta, desciscere à rege constituit. Neque tamen quicquam fecit, quod fide suâ esset indignum: Nam Androclem Magnetum exercitui præfecit.

to the Army to * *Ace, because he thought Datames was not yet gone, to tell him, that he should not depart from the Army. He, before he came whither he was going, met* those *on the Road that were carrying Aspis. With which Expedition whilst Datames gained the great Good-Will of the King, he met with no less Envy from the Courtiers, because they saw, that he alone was more valued than they all: Upon which they all agreed together to ruin him. Pandates, the Keeper of the King's Treasure, a Friend to Datames, sends him these Things in Writing: In which he informs him, That he would be in great Danger, if any ill Success happened whilst he commanded in Egypt. For that was the Custom of Kings, to impute all unfortunate Events to Men, but lucky ones to their own Fortune: From whence it easily came about, that they were soon persuaded to the Ruin of those, under whose Conduct Matters were said to be ill managed. He would be in so much the greater Danger, because he had those his bitter Enemies, to whom the King chiefly hearkened. He, having read his Letter, after he was come to the Army at Ace, because he was not ignorant, that those Things were truly written, resolves to revolt from the King. Neither yet did he do any Thing that was unworthy of his Honour: For he placed Androcles the Magnesian*

* A City of Phœnicia.

cit, Ipſe cum ſuis in Cappadociam diſcedit, conjunctamque huic Paphlagoniam occupat: celans quâ voluntate eſſet in regem, clam cum Ariobarzane facit amicitiam, manum comparat, urbes munitas ſuis tuendas tradit.

ſian over the Army. He departs with his Men *into Cappadocia, and ſeizes upon Paphlagonia, joining upon it: concealing how he was affected towards the King, he privately makes an Alliance with Ariobarzanes, raiſes an Army,* and *delivers the fortified Towns to his* Friends *to maintain* for him.

CAP. VI. Sed hæc propter hyemale tempus minùs proſperè ſuccedebant. Audit Piſidias quaſdam copias adverſus ſe parare: filium eò Aridæum cum exercitu mittit; cadit in prælio adoleſcens: Proficiſcitur eò pater non ita cum magnâ manu, celans quantum vulnus accepiſſet, quòd priùs ad hoſtem pervenire cupiebat, quàm de malè re geſtâ fama ad ſuos perveniret; ne cognitâ filii morte, animi debilitarentur militum. Quò contenderat, pervenit, iiſque locis caſtra ponit, ut neque circumveniri multidudine adverſariorum poſſet, neque impediri, quò minus ipſe ad dimicandum manum haberet expeditam. Erat cum eo Mithrobarzanes, ſocer ejus, præfectus equitum: Is, deſperatis generi rebus, ad hoſtes transfugit. Id Datames ut audivit, ſenſit ſi in turbam exiſſet, ab homine tam neceſſario ſe relictum, futurum ut cæteri conſilium ſequerentur; in vulgus edit, ſuo juſſu Mithrobarzanem pro-

CHAP. VI. *But theſe Things, by Reaſon of the Winter Seaſon, went on leſs ſucceſsfully. He hears the Piſidians were raiſing ſome Troops againſt him; he ſends his Son Arideus thither with an Army; the young Man falls in Battle: The Father marches thither with no great Force, concealing how great a Loſs he had received, becauſe he was deſirous to come up to the Enemy before the News of* this *ill managed Affair ſhould reach his* Men; *leſt,* upon *knowing the Death of his Son, the Minds of his Soldiers ſhould be diſcouraged. He came whither he intended, and pitches his Camp in thoſe Places, that he could neither be ſurrounded by the Number of his Enemies, nor hindered from having his Army* always *at Liberty to fight. Mithrobarzanes was with him, his Father-in-law, Commander of the Horſe. He, deſpairing of the Condition of his Son-in-law, deſerts to the Enemy. When Datames heard that, he was ſenſible, if it ſhould get abroad in the Army, that he was forſaken by a Man ſo near to him, it would come to paſs, that the reſt would follow his*

profectum pro perfugâ, quò faciliùs receptus interficeret hoſtes. Quare relinqui eum non par eſſe, ſed omnes confeſtim ſequi; Quod ſi animo ſtrenuo feciſſent, futurum ut adverſarii non poſſent reſiſtere, quum & intra vallum et foris cæderentur. Hâc re probatâ, exercitum educit, Mithrobarzanem perſequitur, qui nondum ad hoſtes pervenerat; Datames ſigna inferri jubet. Piſidiæ, novâ re commoti, in opinionem adducuntur, perfugas malâ fide, compoſitòque feciſſe, ut recepti, eſſent majori calamitati: primùm eos adoriuntur. Illi, quum quid ageretur, aut quare fieret, ignorarent, coacti ſunt cum eis pugnare, ad quos tranſierant, ab hiſque ſtare, quos reliquerant: Quibus cùm neutri parcerent, celeriter ſunt conciſi. Reliquos Piſidas reſiſtentes Datames invadit; primo impetu pellit, fugientes perſequitur, multos interficit, caſtra hoſtium capit. Tali conſilio uno tempore & proditores perculit, & hoſtes profligavit; & quod ad ſuam perniciem fuerat cogitatum, id ad ſalutem convertit. Quo neque acutius ullius imperatoris cogitatum, neque celerius factum uſquam legimus.

his Courſe. He ſpreads a Report *amongſt the common Soldiers, that Mithrobarzanes was gone over a Deſerter by his Order, that he might the more eaſily,* by being *received* as ſuch, *kill their Enemies. Wherefore it was not fit that he ſhould be left, but that they all ought immediately to follow; which if they did with a reſolute Mind,* the Conſequence *would be, that their Enemies would not be able to reſiſt, ſince they would be cut off within their Ramparts, and without. This Thing being approved of, he draws out his Army, purſues Mithrobarzanes, who had not yet got up to the Enemy. Datames orders the Standards to advance. The Piſidians, ſurprized at this odd Thing, are brought to a Perſuaſion, that the Deſerters acted with an ill Intention, and by Compact* with their other Friends, *that being received* into the Camp, *they might do* them *the more Miſchief; they fall upon them in the firſt Place. They, as they knew not what was doing, nor why it was done, were forced to fight with thoſe to whom they were going over, and to ſtand by them whom they had deſerted: Which whilſt neither* Side *ſpared, they were quickly cut to pieces. Datames invades the reſt of the Piſidians reſiſting: He repels them at the firſt Attack, purſues them flying, kills many,* and *takes the Enemy's Camp. By this Management he at once both ruined the Traitors, and defeated his Enemies; and turned what had*

been contrived for his Deſtruction to his Preſervation. Than which we do not read of any Invention of a General more acute, nor any Action more expeditious.

CAP. VII. Ab hoc tamen viro Syſinas, maximus natu filius, deſciît, adque regem tranſiît, & de defectione patris detulit. Quo nuncio Artaxerxes commotus, quòd intelligebat ſibi cum viro forti ac ſtrenuo negotium eſſe, qui, quum cogitâſſet, facere auderet, & priùs cogitare, quàm conari conſuêſſet; Autophradatum in Cappadociam mittit. Hic ne intrare poſſet ſaltum, in quo Ciliciæ portæ ſunt ſitæ, Datames præoccupare ſtuduit. Sed tam ſubitò copias contrahere non potuit: A quâ re depulſus, cum eâ manu quam contraxerat, locum delegit talem, ut neque circumiretur ab hoſtibus, neque præteriret adverſarius, quin ancipitibus locis premeretur: &, ſi dimicare eo vellet, non multùm obeſſe multitudo hoſtium ſuæ paucitati poſſet.

CHAP. VII. *Yet* his *eldeſt Son, Syſinas, revolted from this Man, and went over to the King, and informed him of his Father's Revolt. At which News Artaxerxes being ſhocked, becauſe he underſtood he had to do with a brave and active Man, who, when he had conſidered* of a Thing, *durſt execute it, and was uſed to conſider, before he attempted* any Thing; *ſends Autophradates into Cappadocia. That he might not enter the Wood in which the* * *Cilician Gates are ſituated, Datames endeavoured to ſeize it before him. But he could not ſo ſuddenly draw his Forces together: From which Thing being obliged to recede, with that Army which he got together, he choſe ſuch a Place, that he could neither be ſurrounded by the Enemy, nor could his Adverſary paſs, but he would be diſtreſſed in difficult Places; and, if he had a Mind to fight in it, the Number of the Enemy could not much hurt his Handful of Men.*

CAP. VIII. Hæc etſi Autophradates videbat, ſatius tamen ſtatuit congredi, quàm cum tantis copiis refugere, aut

CHAP. VIII. *Although Autophradates was ſenſible of theſe Things, yet he thought it better to fight than to fly with ſo great an*

* A narrow Paſs in Mount Taurus.

aut tam diu uno loco ſedere. Habebat barbarorum equitum viginti, peditum centum millia, quos illi Cardaces appellant, ejuſdemque generis tria funditorum. Præterea Cappadocum octo, Armeniorum decem Paphlagonum quinque, Phrygum decem, Lydorum quinque, Aſpendiorum & Piſidarum, circiter tria, Cilicum duo, Captianorum totidem ex Græciâ conductorum tria millia; levis armaturæ maximum numerum. Has adverſus copias ſpes omnis conſiſtebat Datami in ſe, locique naturâ; namque hujus partem non habebat vigeſimam militum: Quibus fretus conflixit, adverſariorumque multa millia concidit; quum de ipſius exercitu non ampliùs hominum mille cecidiſſent. Quam ob cauſam, poſtero die tropæum poſuit, quo loco pridie pugnatum. Hinc quum caſtra moviſſet, inferior copiis, ſuperior omnibus præliis diſcedebat; quòd nunquam manum conſereret, niſi adverſarios locorum anguſtiis clauſiſſet: quod perito regionum,

an Army, or to continue ſo long in one Place. He had of Barbarian Horſe Twenty thouſand, *of Foot a Hundred* thouſand, *which they call Cardaces, and Three* thouſand *Slingers of the ſame Kind, beſides Eight* thouſand *Cappadocians, Ten* thouſand **Armenians, Five* thouſand *Paphlagonians, Ten* thouſand *Phrygians, Five* thouſand *Lydians, about Three* thouſand † *Aſpendians and Piſidians, Two* thouſand *Cilicians, as many Captians, Three thouſand Men hired out of Greece; a vaſt Number of* ‡ *light-armed Men. All Datames's Hopes againſt theſe Troops conſiſted in himſelf, and the Nature of the Place; for he had not the twentieth Part of his Soldiers: Depending upon which he engaged, and cut off many Thouſands of his Enemies; whereas not above a thouſand Men of his Army fell. For which Reaſon, the Day after he erected a* ‖ *Trophy in the Place where they had fought the Day before. After he removed his Camp from thence, though* he was *inferior in Forces, he came off ſuperior in all his Battles, becauſe he never engaged, but when he had encloſed his*

* Armenia is a Country bounded by Aſia Minor.

† The Aſpendians were a People in that Part of Aſia Minor called Pamphylia.

‡ Men armed with Bows or Slings only, were called *leviter armati* or *levis armatura*.

‖ A Trophy was the Trunk of a Tree or a Poſt, hung about with Arms. Theſe were common with the Greeks; they ſcarcely ever got a Victory, but they erected a Trophy.

onum, callidèque cogitanti, fæpe accidebat. Autophradates quum bellum duci majore regis calamitate, quàm adverſariorum, videret, ad pacem atque amicitiam hortatus eſt, ut cum rege in gratiam rediret. Quam ille etſi non fidam fore putabat, tamen conditionem accepit, ſeque ad Artaxerxem legatos miſſurum dixit. Sic bellum, quod rex adverſus Datamen ſuſceperat, ſedatum: Autophradates in Phrygiam ſe recepit.

Enemies within ſome narrow Place: Which often happened to the Man, being *very well acquainted with the Country, and contriving ſubtilely. When Autophradates found that the War was continued with greater Loſs to the King, than his Enemies, he adviſed him to Peace and Friendſhip,* and *that he would return to a good Underſtanding with the King. Which though he perceived would not be faithfully kept, yet he accepted the Offer, and ſaid that he would ſend Ambaſſadors to Artaxerxes. Thus the War, which the King had undertaken againſt Datames,* was *ended; Autophradates withdrew himſelf into Phrygia.*

CAP. IX. At rex, quòd implacabile odium in Datamen ſuſceperat, poſtquam bello eum opprimi non poſſe animadvertit, inſidiis interficere ſtuduit, quas ille pleraſque vitavit. Sicut, quum nunciatum eſſet quoſdam ſibi inſidiari, qui in amicorum erant numero: de quibus, quòd inimici detulerant, neque credendum, neque negligendum putavit; experiri voluit, verum falſumne, ſibi eſſet relatum. Itaque eò profectus eſt, in quo itinere futuras inſidias illi dixerant. Sed elegit corpore & ſtaturâ ſimillimum ſui, eique veſtitum ſuum dedit, atque eo loci ire, quo ipſe conſueverat, juſſit: ipſe autem, ornatus veſtitu militari, inter corporis cuſtodes iter

CHAP. IX. *But the King, becauſe he had taken up an implacable Hatred againſt Datames, after he found that he could not be maſtered in War, endeavoured to take him off by underhand Contrivances, moſt of which he avoided. As, when it was told* him, *that ſome were plotting againſt him, who were in the Number of his Friends; of whom becauſe their Enemies had given the Information, he thought the Thing was neither* entirely *to be believed nor ſlighted; he had a Mind to try whether* it was *true or falſe,* that *had been told him. Wherefore he went that Way in which they told him the Ambuſh was to be laid for him; but he choſe out one that was very like himſelf in Perſon and Stature, and gave him his own Attire, and ordered*

iter facere cœpit. At insidiatores, postquam in eum locum agmen pervenit, decepti ordine atque vestitu, in eum faciunt impetum, qui suppositus erat. Prædixerat autem his Datames cum quibus iter faciebat, ut parati essent facere quod ipsum vidissent. Ipse, ut concurrentes insidiatores animadvertit, tela in eos conjecit: hoc idem quum universi fecissent, priusquam pervenirent ad eum, quem aggredi volebant, confixi ceciderunt.

ordered him to go in that Part of the Company, in which he used to do: But he himself, being dressed up in a military Habit, began to march amongst the Guards of his Person. But the Plotters, after the Company were got into that Place, being deceived by the Order and the Dress, make an Attack upon him who had been put in Datames's Place. But Datames had beforehand ordered them with whom he marched, to be ready to do what they should see him do. He, as soon as he saw the Plotters coming on in a Body, discharged his Weapons at them; and as all the rest did the same, they fell down slain, before they could come up with him whom they intended to assault.

Cap. X. Hic tamen tam callidus vir extremo tempore captus est Mithridatis, Ariobarzanis filii, dolo: namque is pollicitus est regi, se eum interfecturum, si rex promitteret, ut quodcunque vellet, liceret impunè facere, fidemque de eâ re dextrâ dedisset. Hanc ut accepit, simulat se suscepisse cum rege inimicitias, copias parat, & absens, amicitiam cum Datame facit: regis provinciam vexat, castella expugnat, magnas prædas capit; quarum partem suis dispertit, partem ad Datamen mittit: Pari modo, complura castella ei tradit. Hæc diu faciendo, persuasit homini, se infinitum adversus regem suscepisse bellum;

Chap. X. *Yet this Man, as cunning* as he was, *at last was trepanned by the Contrivance of Mithridates, the Son of Ariobarzanes; for he promised the King, that he would kill him, if the King would promise him, that he might do with impunity whatsoever he would, by giving him his right Hand. As soon as he had received this, he pretends that he had engaged in a Quarrel with the King. He raises Troops, and,* though *absent, makes Alliance with Datames, harasses the King's Province, takes his Castles, gets Abundance of Plunder; Part of which he divided amongst his* Men; *Part he sends to Datames: In like Manner he delivers him many Castles. By doing this a long Time, he persuaded the Man that*

lum; quum nihilo magis, ne quam ſuſpicionem illi præberet inſidiarum, neque colloquium ejus petivit, neque in conſpectum venire ſtuduit. Sic, abſens, amicitiam gerebat; ut non beneficiis mutuis, ſed odio communi, quod erga regem ſuſceperant, contineri viderentur.

that he had undertaken an endleſs War againſt the King; whilſt notwithſtanding, that he might not give him any Suſpicion of Treachery in the Caſe, *he neither deſired a Conference with him, nor endeavoured to come in his Sight. Thus,* tho' *abſent, he maintained a Friendſhip* with him; *that they ſeemed not to be engaged to one another by mutual Kindneſſes, but by the common Hatred, which they had both conceived againſt the King.*

CAP. XI. Id quum ſatis ſe confirmaſſe arbitratus eſt, certiorem facit Datamen, tempus eſſe majores exercitus parari, & bellum cum rege ſuſcipi: de quâ re, ſi ei videretur, quò vellet in colloquium veniret. Probatâ re, colloquendi tempus ſumitur, locuſque quo conveniretur. Huc Mithridates cum uno cui maximam habebat fidem, antè aliquot dies venit, compluribuſque locis ſeparatim gladios obruit, eaque loca diligenter notat. Ipſo autem colloquendi die, utrique locum qui explorarent, atque ipſos ſcrutarentur, mittunt; deinde ipſi ſunt congreſſi. Hîc quum aliquandiu in colloquio fuiſſent, & diverſi diſceſſiſſent, jamque procul Datames abeſſet, Mithridates, priuſquam ad ſuos perveniret, ne quam ſuſpicionem pararet, in eundem locum revertitur, atque ibi, ubi telum erat impoſitum, reſedit, ut ſi à laſſitudine cuperet

CHAP. XI. *After he thought he had ſufficiently confirmed that, he makes Datames acquainted, that it was Time that greater Armies ſhould be raiſed, and the War undertaken with the King* himſelf; *concerning which Matter, if it ſeemed to him* proper, *he might come to a Conference with him where he pleaſed. The Thing being approved of, a Time for conferring together is pitched upon, and a Place* too, *where they ſhould meet. Hither Mithridates came with one, in whom he had the greateſt Confidence, ſome Days before, and buries Swords apart in ſeveral Places, and marks thoſe Places carefully. Upon the Day of the Conference, each of them ſend* Men *to examine the Place, and ſearch themſelves, and then they met. After they had been here ſome Time in Conference, and had parted different Ways, and now Datames was a great Way off, Mithridates before he came to his* Men, *that he might not create any Suſpicion* in

peret acquieſcere: Datamenque revocavit, ſimulans ſe quiddam in colloquio eſſe oblitum. Interim telum, quod latebat, protulit; nudatumque vaginâ, veſte texit; ac Datami venienti ait, digredientem ſe animadvertiſſe locum quendam, qui erat in conſpectu, ad caſtra ponenda eſſe idoneum. Quem quum digito monſtraret, & ille conſpiceret, averſum ferro tranſfixit: & priuſquam quiſquam poſſet ſuccurrere, interfecit. Ita ille vir, qui multos conſilio, neminem perfidiâ, ceperat, ſimulatâ captus eſt amicitiâ.

in him, *returns into the ſame Place, and ſat down there where a Sword had been laid, as if he had a Mind to reſt himſelf after his Wearineſs; and recalled Datames, pretending that he had forgot ſomething in the Conference. In the mean Time he took out the Sword that lay hid; and being drawn out of the Sheath, covered it under his Coat; and ſays to Datames,* as he was *coming, that he had,* at *parting, obſerved a certain Place, which was in View, to be proper for the pitching of a Camp; which whilſt he was pointing to with his Finger, and the other was looking at, he run him through, having his Back turned towards him, with the Sword; and before any one could ſuccour him, killed him. Thus that Man, who had taken many by his good Conduct, none by Treachery, was caught* himſelf *by a pretended Friendſhip.*

XV. *EPAMINONDAS,*

XV.

EPAMINONDAS, Polymni *filius, Thebanus.*

CAP. I.

EPaminondas, Polymni filius, Thebanus. De hoc priusquam scribamus, haec praecipienda videntur lectoribus; Ne alienos mores ad suos referant; neve, ea, quae ipsis leviora sunt, iisdem modo apud caeteros fuisse arbitrentur. Scimus enim musicen nostris moribus abesse à principis persona; saltare etiam in vitiis poni: Quae omnia apud Graecos & grata, & laude digna ducuntur. Quum autem exprimere imaginem consuetudinis atque vitae velimus Epaminondae, nihil videmur debere praetermittere, quod pertineat ad eam declarandam. Quare dicemus primùm de genere ejus: deinde quibus disciplinis, & a quibus sit eruditus: tum de moribus ingeniique facultatibus, & si qua alia digna memoriâ erunt; postremo

XV.

EPAMINONDAS, *the Son of* Polymnus, *the Theban.*

CHAP. I.

EPaminondas was the Son of Polymnus, the Theban. Before we write of him, these Cautions *seem proper to be given to our Readers; That they would not examine other People's Fashions by* those of *their own* Country; *nor think those Things which are trivial with them, to have been in like manner so with others. For we know, that according to our Usages, Musick is far from* being suitable to *the Character of a Prince; and that Dancing is reckoned amongst Vices: All which, amongst the Greeks, are reckoned both agreeable, and worthy of Commendation. But as we design to draw the Picture of Epaminondas's Way and* Manner of *Life, we seem obliged to pass by nothing that may be proper to setting it forth. Wherefore we will speak first of his Extraction; then in what Parts of Literature, and by whom he was instructed; then of his Manners,*

and

ſtremò de rebus geſtis, quæ à plurimis omnium antepo-nuntur virtutibus.

and Abilities of Mind, and if there be any other Things worthy to be remembered: And finally concerning his great Actions, which by many are preferred before all Virtues whatſoever.

CAP. II. Natus igitur patre, quo diximus, honeſto genere, pauper jam à majoribus relictus: Eruditus autem ſic, ut nemo Thebanus magis; nam & citharizare, & cantare ad chordarum ſonum doctus eſt à Dionyſio, qui non minore fuit in muſicis gloriâ, quam Damon aut Lamprus, quorum pervulgata ſunt nomina: carmina cantare tibiis, ab Olympiodoro; ſaltare, à Calliphrone. At philoſophiæ præceptorem habuit Lyſim Tarentinum Pythagoreum; cui quidem ſic fuit deditus, ut adoleſcens triſtem & ſeverum ſenem omnibus æqualibus ſuis in familiaritate antepoſuerit; neque priùs eum à ſe demiſerit quàm doctrinis tantò anteceſſit condiſcipulos, ut facilè intelligi poſſet, pari modo ſuperaturum omnes in cæteris artibus. Atque hæc ad noſtram conſuetudinem ſunt levia & potiùs contemnenda: at in Græciâ utique olim magnæ laudi erant. Poſtquam ephebus factus eſt, &

CHAP. II. *He was come of the Father we ſpake of, of an honourable Family; left now poor by his Forefathers: But ſo* well *educated, that no Theban was better: for he was taught to play upon the Harp, and to ſing to the Sound of the Strings by Dionyſius, who was in no leſs Fame amongſt the Muſicians, than Damon or Lamprus, whoſe Names are vulgarly celebrated:* He was taught *to play upon* * *Flutes by Olympiodorus,* and *to dance by Calliphron. But he had for his Maſter in Philoſophy Lyſis the Tarentine, the Pythagorean; to whom he was ſo devoted, that, young as* he was, *he preferred that grave and rigid old Gentleman, before thoſe of the ſame Age with himſelf, in his Familiarity. Nor did he part with him from him, before he ſo much excelled his Fellow Scholars in Learning, that it might be eaſily perceived that he would in like manner excel them all in other Arts. And theſe Things* with reſpect *to our Uſage are trifling, and rather to be deſpiſed; but in*

S *Greece*

* As the Latin Word is Plural, I have tranſlated it by the Plural, becauſe it was no unuſual Thing amongſt the Ancients, for one to play upon two at once; which Piece of Art is, I ſuppoſe, now entirely loſt.

& palæſtræ dare operam cœpit, non tam magnitudini virium ſervivit, quàm velocitati: illam enim ad athletarum uſum; hanc, ad belli exiſtimabat utilitatem, pertinere. Itaque exercebatur plurimùm currendo & luctando, ad eum finem quoad ſtans complecti poſſet, atque contendere. In armis plurimum ſtudii conſumebat.

Greece however, they were formerly a mighty Commendation. After he became a Man, and began to apply to his * *Exerciſe, he did not mind ſo much the Improvement of his Strength as Swiftneſs: For that he thought conduced* much *to the Uſe of Wreſtlers*; but *this to the Convenience of War. Wherefore he was exerciſed very much in Running and Wreſtling,* † *as long as he could ſtanding grapple and contend with his* Adverſary. *He employed much of his Application in the* Exerciſe of *Arms.*

CAP. III. Ad hanc corporis firmitatem plura etiam animi bona acceſſerant. Erat enim modeſtus, prudens, gravis; temporibus ſapienter utens, peritus belli, fortis manu, animo maximo; adeò veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur. Idem continens, clemens, patienſque admirandum in modum; non ſolùm populi, ſed etiam amicorum ferens injurias. In primiſque commiſſa celans: quod interdum non minùs prodeſt quàm diſertè dicere. Studioſus audiendi; ex hoc enim facillime diſci arbitrabatur. Itaque quum in circu-

CHAP. III. *To this Strength of Body a great many good Qualities of the Mind were likewiſe added. For he was modeſt, prudent, ſteady, wiſely uſing the Times, ſkilled in War, brave in Action,* and *of a great Mind: Such a Lover of Truth, that he would not indeed tell a Lie in Jeſt. The ſame* Man *was moderate, merciful, and patient to a wonderful Degree, not only bearing with the Injuries of the People but his Friends: Eſpecially a Concealer of Secrets, which ſometimes does no leſs Service, than to ſpeak eloquently. Very fond of hearing* others diſcourſe; *for by this he thought a Man*

* The Youth of Greece and Rome uſed to ſpend much of their Time in manly Exerciſes to fit them for the Wars, unacquainted with the Softneſs of Balls, Maſquerades, &c. For this Purpoſe their Cities were provided with fine ſtately Buildings, called *Gymnaſia* and *Palæſtræ*.

† The Latin Text here is very much blundered.

circulum veniſſet, in quo aut de republicâ diſputaretur, aut de philoſophiâ ſermo haberetur, nunquam inde priùs diſceſſit, quàm ad finem ſermo eſſet deductus. Paupertatem adeò facilè perpeſſus eſt, ut de republicâ nihil præter gloriam ceperit. Amicorum in ſe tuendo caruit facultatibus; fide ad alios ſubleyandos ſæpe ſic uſus eſt, ut poſſis judicari omnia ei cum amicis fuiſſe communia. Nam quum aut civium ſuorum aliquis ab hoſtibus fuiſſet captus, aut virgo amici nobilis propter paupertatem collocari non poſſet; amicorum concilium habebat, & quantùm quiſque daret, pro facultatibus imperabat: eamque ſummam quum faceret, priuſquam acciperet pecuniam, adducebat eum, qui quærebat, ad eos qui conferebant, eique ut ipſi numerarent, faciebat; ut ille ad quem ea res perveniebat, ſciret quibus & quantùm cuique deberet.

*Man might learn in the moſt eaſy Manner. Wherefore, when he came into Company, * in which there was either a Diſpute about the Government, or* any *Diſcourſe held upon* a Point of *Philoſophy, he never departed thence, till the Diſcourſe was brought to a Concluſion. He bore* his *Poverty ſo eaſily, that he got nothing by the Government, but Glory. He did not make uſe of the Eſtates of his Friends in maintaining himſelf; he often ſo uſed his Credit to relieve his Friends, that it may be judged* by that, *that he had all Things in common with his Friends: For when either any of his Countrymen were taken by the Enemies, or a marriageable Daughter of a Friend could not be diſpoſed of, by reaſon of his Poverty, he held a Council of his Friends, and ordered how much every Man ſhould give, according to his Eſtate; and when he made up the Sum, before he received the Money, he brought the Man, who wanted it, to thoſe who contributed, and made them pay it to himſelf; that he, to whom that Benefit came, might know to whom he was indebted, and how much to every one.*

* It was not the Cuſtom formerly, as now, for Men to club and tipple away their Time in Taverns; that was ſcandalous amongſt the Heathens themſelves. Their uſual Place of Reſort for Converſation, in the Day-time, was the Forum, and the public Buildings about it, as Courts and Piazzas; where, as they uſed to ſtand in Rings or Circles for the better Convenience of hearing one another, *Circulus* came to be peculiarly uſed for ſuch a Knot of Company.

CAP. IV. Tentata autem ejus eſt abſtinentia à Diomedonte Cyziceno; namque is, rogatu Artaxerxis, Epaminondam pecuniâ corrumpendum ſuſceperat. Hìc magno cum pondere auri Thebas venit, & Micythum, adoleſcentulum, quinque talentis, ad ſuam perduxit voluntatem, quem tum Epaminondas plurimùm diligebat. Micythus Epaminondam convenit, & cauſam adventûs Diomedontis oſtendit: At ille, Diomedonte coram, nihil, inquit, opus pecuniâ eſt: Nam ſi ea rex vult, quæ Thebanis ſunt utilia, gratis facere ſum paratus: ſin autem contraria, non habet auri atque argenti ſatis; namque orbis terrarum divitias accipere nolo, pro patriæ charitate. Te, qui me incognitum tentâſti, tuique ſimilem exiſtimâſti, non miror; tibi ignoſco; ſed egredere properè, ne alios corrumpas, quum me non potueris. Tu, Micythe, argentum huic redde, aut niſi id confeſtim facis, ego te tradam magiſtratui. Hunc Diomedon quum rogaret, ut tutò exiret ſuaque quæ attuliſſet, liceret efferre: Iſtud, inquit, faciam; neque tuâ causâ, ſed meâ: ne, ſi, tibi ſit pecunia adempta, aliquis dicat ad me ereptum perveniſſe, quod delatum accipere noluiſſem. A quo quum quæſiſſet, quò ſe duci vellet, & ille Athenas

CHAP. IV. *His Juſtice was tried by Diomedon of Cyzicus: For he, at the Requeſt of Artaxerxes, had undertaken to bribe Epaminondas. He came to Thebes with a vaſt Quantity of Gold, and brought over Micythus, a young Man, by five Talents, to his Lure, whom at that Time Epaminondas loved very much. Micythus went to Epaminondas, and tells him the Occaſion of Diomedon's coming: But he, in the Preſence of Diomedon, ſaid, There is no Need of Money* in the Caſe: *For if the King deſires thoſe Things, which are expedient for the Thebans,* I *am ready to do them for nothing: But if the contrary, he has not Silver and Gold enough; for I would not take the Riches of the whole World for the Love of my Country. I do not wonder at you, who have attempted me unknown* to you, *and thought me like yourſelf: I forgive you; but get you gone quickly, leſt you corrupt others, though you have not been able* to corrupt me. *Do you, Micythus, give him his Silver again, or, unleſs you do it immediately, I will deliver you to the Magiſtrate. When Diomedon aſked him, that he might be ſuffered to go off ſafely, and carry away what he had brought* with him: *That, ſays he, I ſhall do; not for your Cauſe, but my own: leſt, if your Money ſhould be taken from you, any one ſhould ſay, that that was taken* from you, and *come to me, which I would not accept of* when *offered. Of whom*

when

nas dixiſſet, præſidium dedit, ut eò tutò perveniret: Neque verò id ſatis habuit, ſed etiam ut inviolatus in navem aſcenderet, per Chabriam Atheniẽſem, de quo ſuprà mentionem fecimus, effecit. Abſtinentiæ erit hoc ſatis teſtimonium. Plurima quidem proferre poſſemus, ſed modus adhibendus eſt; quoniam uno hoc volumine vitam excellentium virorum complurium concludere conſtituimus, quorum ſeparatim multis millibus verſuum complures ſcriptores ante nos explicârunt.

when he had enquired, whither he had a Mind to be conducted, and he ſaid, to Athens, he gave him a Guard, that he might come ſafely thither: Nor indeed did he reckon that ſufficient, but he likewiſe took Care, that he ſhould go on board a Ship uninjured, by Chabrias the Athenian, of whom we have made mention above. This will be a ſufficient Teſtimony of his Juſtice. We could indeed produce a great many, but Moderation is to be uſed, becauſe we have deſigned to compriſe, in this ſingle Volume, the Lives of ſeveral excellent Men, whoſe Lives ſeveral Writers before us have given an Account of ſeparately in many Thouſands of Lines.

Cap. V. Fuit & diſertus, ut nemo Thebanus ei par eſſet eloquentiâ: neque minùs concinnus in brevitate reſpondendi, quàm in perpetuâ oratione ornatus. Habuit obtractatorem Meneclidem quendam, indidem Thebis, adverſarium in adminiſtrandâ republicâ, ſatis exercitatum in dicendo; ut Thebanum ſcilicet: Namque illi genti plùs ineſt virium, quàm ingenii. Is, quòd in re militari florere Epaminondam videbat, hortari ſolebat Thebanos, ut pacem bello anteferrent, ne illius imperatoris opera deſideraretur. Huic ille, Fallis, inquit, verbo cives tuos, quod hos à bello avocas: otii enim nomine ſervitutem con-

Chap. V. *He was likewiſe eloquent, that no Theban was equal to him for Eloquence, and no leſs dextrous in the Shortneſs of his Replies, than florid in a continued Harangue. He had one Meneclides there at Thebes as a Detractor, and Enemy to him in managing the Government, ſufficiently exerciſed in ſpeaking, for a Theban; that is: For that Nation has more of bodily Strength than Wit. He, becauſe he ſaw Epaminondas make a Figure in military Affairs, uſed to adviſe the Thebans to prefer Peace before War, that the Service of that General might not be wanted.* Upon which *he ſays to him, You deceive your Countrymen with* that *Word, in diſſuading them for War; for you recom-*

mend

concilias; nam paratur pax bello. Itaque qui eâ diutiùs volunt frui, bello exercitati esse debent. Quare, si principes Græciâ esse vultis, castris est vobis utendum, non palæstrâ. Idem ille Meneclides quum huic objiceret quòd liberos non haberet, neque uxorem duxisset; maximèque insolentiam, quòd sibi Agamemnonis belli gloriam videretur consecutus: At ille, Desine, inquit, Meneclide, de uxore mihi exprobare, nam nullius in istâ re minùs uti consilio volo. (Habebat enim Meneclides suspicionem adulterii.) Quòd autem me Agamemnonem æmulari putas, falleris; namque ille, cum universâ Græciâ, vix decem annis unam cepit urbem; Ego, contrâ, ex unâ urbe nostrâ, dieque uno, totam Græciam, Lacedæmoniis fugatis, liberavi.

mend Slavery to them under the Name of Peace; for Peace is procured by War. Wherefore, they that will enjoy it long, ought to be exercised in War. Wherefore, if you have a Mind to be the Leaders of Greece, you must use the Camp, and not the Place of Exercise. What the same Meneclides objected to him, * *that he had no Children, nor had married a Wife; and especially* objected against him *his Insolence, because he seemed to himself to have acquired the Glory of Agamemnon in War: But, says he, Give over, Meneclides, to upbraid me about a Wife: For I could take nobody's Advice in that Matter less* than your's. *(For Meneclides went under the Suspicion of making too free with other Men's Wives.) And whereas you think I rival Agamemnon, you are mistaken; for he with all Greece, with Difficulty, took one City in ten Years; I, on the other Hand, from this one City of ours, and in one Day, delivered all Greece, by routing the Lacedemonians.*

CAP. VI. Idem quum in conventum venisset Arcadûm, petens, ut societatem cum Thebanis & Argivis facerent;

CHAP. VI. *When the same Person was come into the Assembly of the Arcadians, desiring that they would make an Alliance with the Thebans*

* As the Strength of any Government consists much in the Numbers of the People, Matrimony was so encouraged amongst the Greeks and Romans, that to live a single Life was almost criminal amongst them: Nay, was indeed so at last among the Romans, and punished pretty severely; and, in my Opinion, is not to be excused, unless where a Man, in a single State, may be more serviceable to his Country, than if he were to marry.

cerent; contràque, Callistratus Athenienſium legatus, qui eloquentiâ omnes eo præſtabat tempore, poſtularet, ut potiùs amicitiam ſequerentur Atticorum, & in oratione ſuâ multa invectus eſſet in Thebanos & Argivos, in eiſque hoc poſuiſſet, Animadvertere debere Arcadas, quales utraque civitas cives procreâſſet, ex quibus de cæteris poſſet judicare: Argivos enim fuiſſe Oreſtem & Alcmæonem, matricidas: Thebis Œdipum natum, qui cùm patrem ſuum interfeciſſet, ex matre liberos procreâſſet: Hìc in reſpondendo Epaminondas, quum de cæteris perorâſſet, poſtquam ad illa duo opprobria pervenit, admirari ſe dixit ſtultitiam rhetoris Attici, qui non animadverteret, innocentes illos natos, domi ſcelere admiſſo, quum patriâ eſſent pulſi, receptos eſſe ab Athenienſibus. Sed maximè, ejus eloquentia eluxit Spartæ, legati ante pugnam Leuctricam; quo quum omnium ſociorum conveniſſent legati, coram frequentiſſimo legationum conventu, ſic Lacedæmoniorum tyrannidem coarguit, ut non minùs illâ oratione opes eorum concuſſerit, quàm Leuctricâ pugnâ. Tum enim perfecit, quod pòſt apparuit ut auxilio

*Thebans and the Argives; and on the other hand Calliſtratus, Ambaſſador of the Athenians, who excelled all in Eloquence at that Time, deſired that they would rather follow the Alliance of the Athenians, and inveighed much in his Speech againſt the Thebans and the Argives, and put this in amongſt other Things, That the Arcadians ought to obſerve whas Sort of Citizens each City had produced, by which they might judge of the reſt; for Oreſtes and Alcmæon, Murderers of their Mothers, were Argives, and OEdipus was born at Thebes; who, after he had killed his Father, had Children by his Mother: Here Epaminondas, in his Anſwer, after he had ſpoken to other Points, when he was come to thoſe two Reproaches, ſaid, That he admired the Folly of the Athenian Rhetorician, who did not conſider that they were born innocent, and having committed their Wickedneſs at Home, after they were baniſhed their Country were entertained by the Athenians. But his Eloquence ſhined the moſt at Sparta, when he was Ambaſſador before the Battle of * Leuctra; where when the Ambaſſadors of all the Allies had met, before a full Aſſembly of the Embaſſies, he did ſo make appear the Tyranny of the Lacedemonians, that he ſhook their Power no leſs by that Speech, than by the Battle of Leuctra.*

* A City of Laconia in Peloponneſus.

auxilio ſociorum Lacedæmonii privarentur.

CAP. VII. Fuiſſe autem patientem, ſuorumque injurias ferentem civium, quòd ſe patriæ iraſci nefas eſſe duceret, hæc ſunt teſtimonia. Quum eum propter invidiam cives præficere exercitui noluiſſent, duxque eſſet delectus belli imperitus, cujus errore eò eſſet deducta illa res militum, ut omnes de ſalute pertimeſcerent, quòd locorum anguſtiis clauſi, ab hoſtibus obſidebantur: deſiderari cœpta eſt Epaminondæ diligentia; erat enim ibi privatus numero militum: A quo quum peterent opem, nullam adhibuit memoriam contumeliæ, & exercitum, obſidione liberatum, domum reduxit incolumen. Neque verò hoc ſemel fecit, ſed ſæpius. Maximè autem fuit illuſtre, quum in Peloponneſum exercitum duxiſſet adverſus Lacedæmonios, haberetque collegas duos, quorum alter erat Pelopidas, vir fortis ac ſtrenuus. Hìc, quum criminibus adverſariorum omnes in invidiam veniſſent, ob eamque rem imperium his eſſet abrogatùm, atque in eorum locum alii prætores ſucceſſiſſent; Epaminondas plebiſcito non paruit; idemque ut facerent, perſuaſit collegis, & bellum quod

tra. For then he effected what afterwards appeared, that the Lacedæmonians were deprived of the Aſſiſtance of their Allies.

CHAP. VII. *But that he was patient, and bore with the Injuries of his Countrymen, becauſe he thought it a Crime to be angry with his Country, there are theſe Proofs. When his Countrymen, out of ill Nature to him, would not place him at the Head of their Army, and a General was choſen that was unſkilled in War, by whoſe Miſtake the Army was brought to that Paſs, that all were much concerned about their Safety, becauſe that being encloſed within a narrow Place, they were beſieged by the Enemy; the Diligence of Epaminondas began to be miſſed; for he was there as a private Man amongſt the Soldiers: From whom when they deſired Help, he had no Regard to the Affront* put upon him, *and carried the Army, delivered out of this Strait, ſafely Home. Nor indeed did he do that once only, but often. But that was the moſt remarkable, when he led an Army into Peloponneſus againſt the Lacedemonians, and had two joined in Commiſſion with him, one of which was Pelopidas, a gallant and an active Man. Here, when they were all come under the Odium* of their Countrymen, *by the Accuſations of their Enemies, and for that Reaſon their Commiſſion was taken from them, and other Commanders ſucceeded in*

quod ſuſceperat, geſſit. Namque animadvertebat, ubi id feciſſet, totum exercitum propter prætorum imprudentiam inſciriamque belli periturum. Lex erat Thebis, quæ morte mulctabat, ſi quis imperium diutiùs retinuiſſet, quam lege præfinitum foret. Hanc Epaminondas quum reipublicæ conſervandæ causâ latam videret, ad perniciem civitatis conferre noluit; & quatuor menſibus diutiùs, quam populus juſſerat, geſſit imperium.

*in their Place: Epaminondas did not obey the Order of the People, and perſuaded his Colleagues to do the ſame, and carried on the War which he had undertaken. For he was ſenſible, * unleſs he did ſo, that the whole Army would be loſt, by Reaſon of the Unſkilfulneſs of the Generals, and their Ignorance in War. There was a Law at Thebes, which puniſhed with Death, if any one kept his Commiſſion longer than was preſcribed by Law. As Epaminondas ſaw that this was made upon Account of preſerving the State, he would not turn it to the Ruin of his Country; and kept his Command four Months longer than the People had ordered.*

Cap. VIII. Poſtquam domum reditum eſt, collegæ ejus hoc crimine accuſabantur: quibus ille permiſit, ut omnem cauſam in ſe transferrent, ſuâque operâ factum contenderent, ut legi non obedirent. Quâ defenſione illis periculo liberatis, nemo Epaminondam reſponſurum putabat; quòd quid diceret non haberet. At ille in judicium venit, nihil eorum negavit quæ adverſarii crimini dabant, omniaque quæ collegæ dixerant confeſſus eſt; neque recuſavit, quo minùs legis pœnam

Chap. VIII. *After they were returned Home, his Fellow Commiſſioners were impeached for this Crime, to whom he gave Leave to lay all the Blame upon him, and ſtand to it that it was occaſioned by his Means, that they did not obey the Law. By which Defence, they being delivered from Danger, no-body thought Epaminondas would make any Anſwer for himſelf; becauſe he could not have any thing to ſay. But he came to his Trial, denied none of thoſe Things which his Enemies laid to his Charge, and confeſſed all Things that his Colleagues had ſaid; nor did he refuſe to undergo*

T

* It is in the Latin, *ubi*, without any Senſe. It ſeems to me undeniable it ſhould be *niſi*.

pœnam ſubiret; ſed unum ab iis petivit, ut in periculo ſuo conſcriberent; Epaminondas à Thebanis morte mulctatus eſt, quod eos coëgit apud Leuctra ſuperare Lacedæmonios; quos ante ſe imperatorem, nemo Bœotiorum auſus fuit aſpicere in acie: quodque uno prœlio non ſolùm Thebas ab interitu retraxit, ſed etiam univerſam Græciam in libertatem vindicavit; eòque res utrorumque perduxit, ut Thebani Spartam oppugnarent, Lacedæmonii ſatis haberent ſi ſalvi eſſe poſſent: neque priùs bellari deſtitit, quam, Meſſenâ conſtitutâ, urbem eorum obſidione clauſit. Hæc quum dixiſſet, riſus omnium cum hilaritate coortus eſt; neque quiſquam judex auſus eſt ferre ſuffragium.

*the Puniſhment of the Law: But one Thing he requeſted of them that they would write upon his * Tomb; Epaminondas was put to Death by the Thebans, becauſe he forced them to beat the Lacedemonians at Leuctra; whom, before he was General, none of the Beotians durſt look at in the Field; and becauſe he not only delivered Thebes from Deſtruction by one Battle, but likewiſe reſtored all Greece to their Liberty, and brought the Affairs of both People to that Paſs, that the Thebans attacked Sparta, and the Lacedemonians were content, if they could be ſecure; nor did he ceaſe to make War* upon them, *before, the State of* † *Meſſena being ſettled, he penned up their City by a* cloſe *Siege. After he had ſaid this, there burſt out a Laughter of all* preſent, *with a* deal *of Merriment; nor durſt any Judge paſs Sentence upon him.*

CAP. IX. Sic à judicio capitis maximâ diſceſſit gloriâ. Hic, extremo tempore, imperator apud Mantineam, quum acie inſtructâ audaciùs inſtaret hoſtibus, cognitus à Lacedæmoniis, quòd in ejus unius pernicie patriæ ſitam putabant

CHAP. IX. *Thus he came off from this Trial for Life with the greateſt Glory. He at the latter End of his Time, being General at* ‡ *Mantinea, when he preſſed very boldly upon the Enemies with his Army in Battalia, being known by the Lacedemonians, becauſe they*

* Though ſome pretend to defend the vulgar Reading here, *periculo*; yet I cannot forbear thinking it to be a Miſtake for *ſepulchro*, or ſome other Word of like Import.

† A Country of Peloponneſus, bordering upon Laconia to the Weſtward.

‡ A City of Arcadia in Peloponneſus.

putabant ſalutem, univerſi in unum impetum fecerunt, neque priùs abſceſſerunt quàm magnâ cæde factâ, multiſque occiſis, fortiſſimè ipſum Epaminondam pugnantem, ſparo eminus percuſſum, concidere viderunt. Hujus caſu aliquantùm retardati ſunt Bœotii; neque tamen priùs pugnâ exceſſerunt, quam repugnantes profligârunt. At Epaminondas, quum animadverteret mortiferum ſe vulnus accepiſſe, ſimulque, ſi ferrum, quod ex haſtili in corpore remanſerat, extraxiſſet, animam ſtatim amiſſurum; uſque eò retinuit, quoad renunciatum eſt, Viciſſe Bœotios. Id poſtquam audivit, ſatis, inquit, vixi; invictus enim morior. Tum ferro extracto, confeſtim exanimatus eſt.

they thought the Saving of their Country depended upon the Deſtruction of him alone, they all made an Attack upon him only; nor did they depart, till having made a great Slaughter, and killed many, they ſaw Epaminondas himſelf, fighting very valiantly, fall wounded with a Lance at a Diſtance. The Beotians were a little retarded by his Fall; neither yet did they quit the Fight, before they routed thoſe that oppoſed them. But Epaminondas, after he perceived he had received a mortal Wound, and likewiſe, that if he drew out the Head of the Spear, which remained in his Body, he ſhould immediately loſe his Life; he kept it in ſo long, till it was told him, That the Beotians had conquered. After he heard that, I have lived, ſays he, long *enough; for I die unconquered. Then the Iron* Head *being drawn out, he immediately died.*

CAP. X. Hic uxorem nunquam duxit; in quo quum reprehenderetur à Pelopidâ, qui filium habebat infamem; malèque eum in eo patriæ conſulere diceret, quòd liberos non relinqueret: Vide, inquit, ne tu pejus conſulas, qui talem ex te natum relicturus ſis. Neque vero ſtirps mihi poteſt deeſſe: namque ex me natam relinquo pugnam Leuctricam, quæ non modò mihi ſuperſtes, ſed etiam immortalis ſit, neceſſe eſt. Quo tempore, duce Pelopidâ, exules Thebas occupaverunt, & præſidium

CHAP. X. *He never married a Wife; for which, when he was blamed by Pelopidas, who had an infamous Son; and ſaid, that he did but ill conſult* the Intereſt of *his Country, in that he left no Children; Conſider, ſays he, whether you do not worſe conſult the* Intereſt of your Country, *who are likely to leave ſuch a Son. But neither can I want Iſſue; for I leave a Daughter, the Battle of Leuctra, which muſt needs not only ſurvive me, but be immortal. At the Time when the banſhed Thebans ſeized Thebes, with Pelopidas their Commander, and*

dium Lacedæmoniorum ex arce expulerunt: Epaminondas, quàm diu facta eſt cædes civium, domi ſe retinuit; quòd neque malos defendere volebat, neque impugnare, ne manus ſuorum ſanguine cruentaret: Namque omnem civilem victoriam funeſtam putabat. Idemque, poſtquam apud Cadmeam pugnari cum Lacedæmoniis cœpit, in primis ſtetit. Hujus de virtutibus vitâque ſatis erit dictum, ſi hoc unum adjunxero, quod nemo erat inficias: Thebas, & ante Epaminondam natum, & poſt ejuſdem interitum, perpetuo alieno paruiſſe imperio: contra ea, quamdiu ille præfuerit reipublicæ, caput fuiſſe totius Græciæ. Ex quo intelligi poteſt, unum hominem pluris quam civitatem fuiſſe.

drove the Garriſon of the Lacedemonians out of the Citadel; Epaminondas, ſo long as the Slaughter was made amongſt the Citizens, kept himſelf at home, becauſe he neither had a Mind to defend the bad Party, nor attack them, that he might not imbrue his Hands in the Blood of his Countrymen: For he thought all Victory gained over Fellow Citizens very diſmal. And the ſame Man, after they began to engage at Cadmea with the Lacedemonians, ſtood amongſt the foremoſt. Enough will be ſaid of his Virtues and Life, if I add this one Thing, which nobody can deny: That Thebes, both before Epaminondas was *born, and after his Death, was always ſubject to a foreign Power; on the other Hand, ſo long as he governed the Commonwealth, it was the Head of all Greece. From whence it may be underſtood, that one Man* alone *was more worth than* all *the* whole *City* beſides.



XVI. *PELOPIDAS,*

XVI.

PELOPIDAS, Thebanus.

Cap. I.

PELOPIDAS Thebanus, magis hiſtoriis, quàm vulgo notus. Cujus de virtutibus dubito quemadmodum exponam: quòd vereor, ſi res explicare incipiam, non vitam ejus enarrare, ſed hiſtoriam videar ſcribere; ſi tantummodo ſummas attigero, ne rudibus literarum Græcarum minùs lucidè appareat, quantus fuerit ille vir. Itaque utrique rei occurram, quantùm potero, & medebor cùm ſatietati, tum ignorantiæ, lectorum. Phœbidas Lacedæmonius quum exercitum Olynthum duceret, iterque per Thebas faceret, arcem oppidi, quæ Cadmea nominatur, occupavit, impulſu perpaucorum Thebanorum; qui adverſariæ factioni quo faciliùs reſiſterent, Laconum rebus ſtudebant: Idque ſuo privato

XVI.

PELOPIDAS, the Theban.

Chap. I.

PELOPIDAS the Theban is better known to * *Hiſtorians, than to the Vulgar. Concerning whoſe Excellencies I am in Doubt how I ſhall write; becauſe I am afraid, if I ſhould begin to unravel his Actions, I ſhould ſeem not to recount his Life, but to write a Hiſtory; if I only touch upon the moſt conſiderable,* I fear, *leſt it ſhould leſs plainly appear to thoſe* that are *ignorant of the Greek Tongue how great a Man he was. Wherefore I will provide againſt both Things, as much as I can, and prevent both the Glut and Ignorance of my Readers. When Phœbidas the Lacedemonian was leading an Army to Olynthus, and made his March by Thebes, he ſeized the Citadel of the Town, which is called Cadmea, at the Inſtigation of a few Thebans, who, that they might the more eaſily reſiſt the oppoſite Faction, favoured*

* The common Reading is *Hiſtoriis*; but I am of the learned Schottus's Opinion, that it ſhould be *Hiſtoricis*, and accordingly I have tranſlated it.

privato, non publico fecit conſilio. Quo facto, eum Lacedæmonii ab exercitu removerunt, pecuniâque mulctarunt: neque eò magis arcem Thebanis reddiderunt, quòd, ſuſceptis inimicitiis ſatiùs ducebant eos obſideri, quam liberari. Nam poſt Peloponneſium bellum Athenaſque devictas, cum Thebanis ſibi rem eſſe exiſtimabant; & eos eſſe ſolos, qui adversùs reſiſtere auderent. Hâc mente, amicis ſuis ſummas poteſtates dederant; alterius factionis principes partim interfecerant, alios in exilium ejecerant; in quibus Pelopidas hic, de quo ſcribere exorſi ſumus, pulſus, patriâ carebat.

favoured the Intereſt of the Lacedemonians: And that he did upon his own private, and not on any publick Reſolution of the Spartans. *Upon which Fact the Lacedemonians removed him from* his Poſt in *the Army, and fined him* a Sum of *Money*; *nor did they for all that reſtore the Citadel to the Thebans, becauſe, a Quarrel being* now *begun, they thought it better that they ſhould be under a Check, than at Liberty: For after the Peloponneſian War, and the Conqueſt of Athens, they ſuppoſed they muſt have to do with the Thebans*; *and that they were the only* People *who durſt make Oppoſition againſt* them. *With theſe Sentiments, they had delivered the higheſt Poſt to their Friends, the leading Men of the other Faction they had partly killed,* and *partly turned out into Baniſhment: Amongſt whom this Pelopidas, of whom we have undertaken to write, was baniſhed his Country.*

CAP. II. Hi omnes ferè Athenas ſe contulerant, non quò ſequerentur otium, ſed ut, quemcunque ex proximo locum fors obtuliſſet, eo patrium recuperare niterentur. Itaque, quum tempus eſt viſum rei gerendæ, communiter cum his, qui Thebis idem ſentiebant, diem delegerunt, ad inimicos opprimendos, civitatemque liberandam, eum, quo maximi magiſtratus ſimul conſueverunt epulari. Magnæ ſæpe res

CHAP. II. *Almoſt all theſe had betaken themſelves to Athens, not that they might lead an idle Life, but that whatſoever Place in the Neighbourhood Fortune offered them, they might endeavour from thence to recover their Country. Wherefore, when it* now *ſeemed Time to enter upon the Buſineſs, they pitched upon a Day jointly with thoſe who at Thebes had the ſame Sentiments, to fall upon their Enemies, and free the City, the very Day upon which the chief Magiſtrates were*

uſed

res non ita magnis copiis ſunt geſtæ: ſed profectò nunquam ab tam tenui initio tantæ opes ſunt profligatæ. Nam duodecim adoleſcentuli coiêrunt, ex his qui exilio erant mulctati, quum omnino non eſſent ampliùs centum, qui tanto ſe offerrent periculo; quâ paucitate perculſa eſt Lacedæmoniorum potentia. Hi enim non magis adverſariorum factioni, quàm Spartanis, eo tempore bellum intulerunt, qui principes erant totius Græciæ: quorum imperioſa majeſtas, neque ita multò poſt, Leuctricâ pugnâ, ab hoc initio perculſa, cecidit. Illi igitur duodecim, quorum erat dux Pelopidas, quum Athenas interdiu exiſſent, ut veſperaſcente cœlo Thebas poſſent pervenire, cum canibus venaticis exiêrunt, retia ferentes veſtitu agreſti, quò minore ſuſpicione facerent iter. Qui quum tempore ipſo, quo ſtuduerant, proveniſſent, domum Charonis devenerunt, à quo & tempus & dies erat datus.

uſed to feaſt together. Great Things have been oftentimes performed by no great Forces; but indeed never ſo great a Power was defeated from ſo ſmall a Beginning. For twelve young Men, of thoſe who had been puniſhed with Baniſhment, agreed, when they were not above an Hundred that offered themſelves to ſo great a Danger; with which ſmall Number the Power of the Lacedemonians was overthrown. For theſe made Wars, not more upon the Faction of their Adverſaries than upon the Spartans at that Time, who were the Lords of all Greece: Whoſe imperious Grandeur, ſhocked from this Beginning, fell not long after in the Battle of Leuctra. Wherefore theſe Twelve, whoſe Leader was Pelopidas, having gone out of Athens in the Day-Time, that they might reach Thebes when the Heavens grew dark, went out with Hounds, carrying Nets, in a Country Dreſs, that they might make their Journey with the leſs Suſpicion. Who, having come thither *at the Time which they had intended, went to Charon's Houſe, by whom the * Day had been fixed.*

CAP. III. Hoc loco libet interponere, etſi ſejunctum à re propoſita eſt, nimia fiducia quantæ calamitati ſoleat eſſe: Nam magiſtratuum

CHAP. III. *In this Place I have a Fancy to inſert a* Remark, *altho' it be foreign to our Subject: How great a Miſchief an exceſſive Aſſurance uſes to be: For it immediately*

* The Text ſeems to be faulty here; there can, I think, be no Occaſion for *Tempus* and *Dies* both.

tuum Thebanorum ſtatim ad aures pervenit, exules in urbem deveniſſe. Id illi, vino epuliſque dediti, uſque eò deſpexerunt, ut ne quærere quidem de tantâ re laborarint. Acceſſit, etiam, quòd magis aperiret eorum dementiam: Allata eſt enim epiſtola Athenis, ab Archiâ Hierophante, Archiæ, qui tum maximum magiſtratum Thebis obtinebat; in quâ omnia de profectione exulum preſcripta erant: Quæ quum jam accubanti in convivio eſſet data, ſicut erat ſignata, in pulvinum ſubjiciens; In craſtinum, inquit, differo res ſeveras. At illi omnes, quum jam nox proceſſiſſet vinolenti, ab exulibus, duce Pelopidâ, ſunt interfecti. Quibus rebus confectis, vulgo ad arma libertatemque vocato, non ſolùm qui in urbem erant, ſed etiam undique ex agris concurrerunt; præſidium Lacedæmoniorum ex arce pepulerunt; patriam obſidione liberaverunt: Auctores Cadmeæ occupandæ partim occiderunt, partim in exilio ejecerunt.

immediately came to the Ears of the Theban Magiſtrates, that ſome of the *Exiles were come to Town: That, they intent upon their Wine and good Cheer, ſo far deſpiſed, that they did not truly trouble themſelves to inquire about ſo important a Matter. There was another Thing too, which diſcovered their Madneſs ſtill the more. For a Letter was brought from Athens, from Archias an* * *Hierophontes, to Archias, who then had the chief Poſt of Authority at Thebes; in which all Things had been written concerning the Departure of the Exiles* from thence: *Which being given to him as* † *he ſat at the Feaſt, putting it as it was, ſealed under his Pillow; I put off, ſays he, all ſerious Affairs till Tomorrow: But they all, when now the Night was pretty far advanced, being drunk, were ſlain by the Exiles, under their Leader Pelopidas. Which Things being done, and the common People invited to Arms and Liberty, not only thoſe who were in the Town, but likewiſe* others *from all Parts out of the Country, flocked in* to them; *drove the Garriſon of the Lacedemonians out of the Citadel; and delivered their Country from that Bridle. They partly*

CAP. *put*

* *Hierophantes* is explained by ſome to be a Keeper of the holy Trinkets belonging to the Gods.

† The Latin Word properly ſignifies *lying at*, or *by*, which was the Poſture uſed by the Ancients at Tables, about which they commonly had three Beds placed, on the Sides of which they lay, with their Backs ſupported by Pillows.

put to Death the Advisers of seizing the Cadmea, and partly drove them out into Banishment.

CAP. IV. Hoc tam turbido tempore (sicut supra docuimus Epaminondas, quoad cum civibus dimicatum est, domi quietus fuit: Itaque hæc liberandarum Thebarum propria laus est Pelopidæ; cæteræ ferè omnes, communes cum Epaminondâ. Namque in Leuctricâ pugnâ, imperatore Epaminondâ, hic fuit dux delectæ manûs, quæ primâ phalangen prostravit Laconum. Omnibus præterea periculis affuit: sicut Spartam quum oppugnavit, alterum tenuit cornu: quòque Messena celeriùs restitueretur, legatus in Persas est profectus. Denique hæc fuit altera persona Thebis, sed tamen secunda, ita ut proxima esset Epaminondæ.

CHAP. IV. *During this turbulent Time (as we have told you before) Epaminondas, so long as they were engaged with their Fellow Citizens, was quiet at Home; wherefore the Glory of delivering Thebes is proper to Pelopidas: Almost all his other glorious Actions were common to him with Epaminondas. For in the Battle of Leuctra, where Epaminondas was General, he was the Commander of a select Body of* Troops, *which first of all broke the Phalanx of the Lacedæmonians. Besides, he was present* with him *in all his Dangers; as, when he attacked Sparta, he commanded one Wing; and that Messena might be more expeditiously restored, he went Ambassador amongst the Persians. Finally this was another* considerable *Actor at Thebes, but yet a second, so that he was next to Epaminondas.*

CAP. V. Conflictatus autem est cum adversâ fortunâ; nam & initio (sicut ostendimus) exul patriâ caruit; &, quum Thessaliam in potestatem Thebanorum cuperet redigere, legationisque jure satis tectum se arbitraretur, quod apud omnes gentes sanctum esse consuêsset, à tyranno Alexandro Pheræo, simul cum Ismeniâ, comprehensus,

CHAP. V. *Yet he met with adverse Fortune; for he was early banished (as we have shown;) and being desirous to reduce Thessaly under the Power of the Thebans, and, thinking himself sufficiently secured by the Right of an Embassy, which used to be sacred among all Nations, he was seized, together with Ismenias, by Alexander, the Tyrant of* * *Pheræ, and thrown into Chains. Epami-*

* A City in that Part of Thessaly called Pelasgiotis.

henſus, in vincula conjectus eſt. Hunc Epaminondas recuperavit, bello perſequens Alexandrum. Poſt id factum, nunquam is animo placari potuit in eum, à quo erat violatus: Itaque perſuaſit Thebanis, ut ſubſidio Theſſaliæ proficiſcerentur, tyrannoſque ejus expellerent. Cujus belli quum ei ſumma eſſet data, eòque cum exercitu profectus eſſet, non dubitavit, ſimul ac conſpexit hoſtem, confligere. In quo prælio, Alexandrum ut animadvertit, incenſus irâ, equum in eum concitavit, proculque digreſſus à ſuis, conjectu telorum confoſſus cecidit. Atque hoc ſecundâ victoriâ accidit: nam jam inclinatæ erant tyrannorum copiæ. Quo facto, omnes Theſſaliæ civitates interfectum Pelopidam coronis aureis, & ſtatuis æneis, liberoſque ejus multo agro donaverunt.

nondas recovered him, falling upon Alexander in War. After that Fact, he could never be reconciled in his Mind to him by whom he had been injured: Wherefore he perſuaded the Thebans to go to the Relief of Theſſaly, and drive out the Tyrants thereof. When the chief Command in that War had been given to him, and he was come thither with his Army, he did not delay to engage, as ſoon as he ſaw the Enemy. In which Battle, when he ſpied Alexander, being fired with Rage, he ſpurred on his Horſe againſt him, and being gone a good Way from his Men, *he fell down killed with the Diſcharge of Weapons* at him; *And this happened* when *Victory was favourable* to him: *For the Tyrant's Troops were now ready to flee. After which, all the Cities of Theſſaly* honoured *the ſlain Pelopidas with golden Crowns, and brazen Statues, and preſented his Children with a great deal of Land.*

XVII. *AGESILAUS*,

XVII.

AGESILAUS, Lacedæmonius.

CAP. I.

AGESILAUS Lacedæmonius, cùm à cæteris ſcriptoribus, tum eximiè à Xenophonte Socratico collaudatus eſt; eo enim uſus eſt familiariſſimè. Hic primùm de regno cum Leotychide, fratris filio, habuit contentionem. Mos eſt enim à majoribus Lacedæmoniis traditus, ut duos haberent ſemper reges, nomine magis quàm imperio ex duabus familiis Proclis & Euriſthenis, qui principes ex progenie Herculis, Spartæ reges fuerunt. Harum ex alterâ in alterius familiæ locum fieri non licebat: itaque uterque ſuum retinebat ordinem. Primùm, ratio habebatur, qui maximus natu eſſet ex liberis ejus, qui regnans deceſſiſſet: Sin is virilem ſexum non reliquiſſet, tunc eligebatur qui proximus eſſet propinquitate. Mortuus erat Agis rex, frater Ageſilai: filium reliquerat Leotychidem, quem ille vivens non agnôrat; eundem, moriens, ſuum eſſe dixerat.

XVII.

AGESILAUS, *the Lacedemonian.*

CHAP. I.

AGESILAUS the Lacedemonian has been commended as well by other Writers, as by Xenophon the Socratick Philoſopher *extraordinarily; for he was very intimate with him. He firſt* of all *had a Diſpute with Leotychides, his Brother's Son, for the Kingdom. For it is a Cuſtom delivered to the Lacedemonians by their Foreſathers, to have always two Kings, in Name rather than Authority, of the two Families of Procles and Euryſthenes, who, firſt of* all *the Progeny of Hercules, were Kings of Sparta. It was not lawful* for a King *to be made out of one of theſe, in the room of the other Family: Wherefore each kept it's Rank. Firſt, Regard was had to him that was the eldeſt of the Sons of him who died King: But if he left no Male Iſſue, then he was choſen that was the next akin. King Agis, the Brother of Ageſilaus, was dead: He had left a Son, Leotychides* by Name, *whom he,* when *alive, had not owned* for his; but *when dying, he had ſaid that he was his. He con-*

erat. Is de honore regni cum Ageſilao ſuo patruo contendit; neque id quod petivit conſecutus eſt; nam Lyſandro ſuffragante, homine, ut oſtendimus ſupiâ, factioſo, & his temporibus potente, Ageſilaus antelatus eſt.

tended for the Honour of the Kingdom with his Uncle Ageſilaus; nor did he get what he ſought for; for Ageſilaus was preferred before him, Lyſander making Intereſt for him; a Man (as we have ſhewn above) of conſiderable Sway, and powerful at that Time.

CAP. II. Hic ſimul atque imperii potitus eſt, perſuaſit Lacedæmoniis ut exercitum emitterent in Aſiam, bellumque regi facerent, docens, ſatiùs eſſe in Aſiâ, quàm in Europâ dimicare: namque fama exierat Artaxerxem comparare claſſem, pedeſtreſque exercitus, quos in Græciam mitteret. Datâ poteſtate, tantâ celeritate uſus eſt, ut priùs in Aſiam cum copiis pervenerit, quàm regii ſatrapæ eum ſcirent profectum; quo factum eſt, ut omnes imparatos imprudenteſque offenderet. Id ut cognovit Tiſſaphernes, qui ſummum imperium tum inter præfectos habebat regios, inducias à Lacone petivit, ſimulans ſe dare operam, ut Lacedæmoniis cum rege conveniret; re autem verâ, ad copias comparandas; eaſque impetravit trimeſtres. Juravit autem uterque, ſe ſine dolo inducias conſervaturum: In quâ pactione, ſummâ fide manſit Ageſilaus. Contra ea, Tiſſaphernes nihil aliud quàm bellum comparavit. Id etſi ſentiebat Laco, tamen jusjurandum ſervabat,

CHAP. II. *He, as ſoon as he got the Kingdom, perſuaded the Lacedæmonians, that they ſhould ſend an Army into Aſia, and make War upon the King, telling them that it was better to fight in Aſia than Europe; for a Rumour was got abroad, that Artaxerxes was fitting out a Fleet, and* raiſing *Land Forces to ſend into Greece. Leave being granted him, he made Uſe of ſo much Expedition, that he came into Aſia with his Troops, before the King's Viceroys knew that he was ſet forward; from whence it was that he found them all unprovided, and unaware of him. As ſoon as Tiſſaphernes underſtood it, who had then the greateſt Power amongſt the King's Governors, he deſired a Truce of the Lacedæmonian, pretending, that he would do his Endeavour that the Lacedæmonians ſhould agree with the King; but indeed to raiſe Troops; and he obtained it for three Months. But each of them ſwore, that he would obſerve the Truce without Fraud: In which Agreement, Ageſilaus continued with the greateſt Punctualneſs. On the other Hand, Tiſſaphernes did nothing elſe but levy War. Altho'*

vabat, multùmque in eo consequi se dicebat, quòd Tissaphernes perjurio suo & hominesque suis rebus abalienaret, & deos sibi iratos redderet: se autem. servatâ religione, confirmare exercitum, quum animadverteret, deorum numen facere secum, hominesque sibi consiliari amiciores, quòd his studere consuêssent, quos conservare fidem viderent.

Altho' the Lacedemonian perceived that, yet he kept his Oath, and said that he got much by it, because Tissaphernes both alienated Men from his Interest, and made the Gods angry with him by his Perjury: but that he, by keeping his Oath, encouraged his Army, since they observed, that the Power of the Gods was for them; and Men were made more Friends to them, because they were accustomed to favour those whom they observed to keep their Faith.

Cap. III. Postquam inducierum preteriit dies, barbarus non dubitans, quod ipsius erant plurima domicilia in Cariâ, & ea regio his temporibus multò putabatur locupletissima, eò potissimum hostes impetum facturos, omnes suas copias eò contraxerat. At Agesilaus in Phrygiam se convertit, eamque prius depopulatus est, quam Tissaphernes usquam se moveret. Magna præda militibus locupletatis, Ephesum hyematum exercitum reduxit; atque ibi, officinis armorum institutis, magnâ industriâ bellum apparavit. Et quo studiosiùs armarentur, insigniusque ornarentur, præmia proposuit, quibus donarentur, quorum egregia in eâ re fuisset industria. Fecit idem in exercitationem generibus, ut qui cæteris præstitissent, eos magnis afficeret muneribus. His igitur rebus effecit, ut & ornatissimum & exercitatissimum haberet exercitum. Huic

Chap. III. *After the Time of the Truce was expired, the Barbarian not doubting, because he had a great many Seats in Caria, and that Country was thought* to be *far the richest at that Time, that the Enemies would make their Inroads, there chiefly, had drawn all his Troops thither. But Agesilaus turns into Phrygia, and wasted that, before Tissaphernes could stir any whither. Having enriched his Soldiers with Abundance of Plunder, he drew back his Army to Ephesus to winter; and there having set up Forges for Arms, he prepared for War with great Industry. And that* his Troops *might be the more carefully armed, and more finely adorned, he proposed Rewards, with which they should be presented whose Industry was extraordinary in that Matter. He did the same in* all *Sorts of Exercises, that them, who excelled the rest, he honoured with great Presents. By these Means therefore he effected that he had his Army both*

Huic quum tempus eſſet viſum copias extrahere ex hybernaculis, vidit ſi, quo eſſet iter facturus, palam pronunciâſſet, hoſtes non credituros, aliaſque regiones occupaturos, nec dubitaturos, aliud eſſe facturum ac pronunciâſſet; Itaque quum ille Sardeis ſe iturum dixiſſet, Tiſſaphernes eanpem Cariam defendendam putavit. In quo quum eum opinio fefelliſſet, victumque ſe vidiſſet conſilio, ferò ſuis præſidio profectus eſt. Nam, quum illò veniſſet, jam Ageſilaus, multis locis expugnatis, magnâ erat prædâ potitus. Laco autem, quum videret hoſtes equitatu ſuperare, nunquam in campo ſui fecit poteſtatem, & his locis manuconſeruit, quibus plùs pedeſtres copiæ valerent. Pepulit ergo, quotieſcunque congreſſus eſt, multo majores adverſariorum copias; & ſic in Aſiâ verſatus eſt, ut omnium opinione victor duceretur.

both very well furniſhed with all Things, *and very well exerciſed. As ſoon as it appeared to him Time to draw his Troops out of their Winter-Quarters, he ſaw, that if he declared openly whither he was going to march, the Enemies would not believe it, and would take Care of other Parts, and would not doubt that he would do quite another Thing than what he gave out: Wherefore, when he had declared, That he would march for Sardeis, Tiſſaphernes thought that the ſame* Country of *Caria ought to be defended by him. In which Matter when his Opinion had deceived him, and he ſaw himſelf outwitted, he came too late for the Protection of his* Subjects. *For when he was come thither, Ageſilaus, having already taken many Places, had got Abundance of Plunder. But the Lacedemonian, ſeeing the Enemy exceeded* him *in Horſe, never gave them an Opportunity of* fighting *him in the Plain, and engaged in thoſe Places, in which Foot would be of moſt Service. Wherefore he ranted a much bigger Army of the Enemies, as oft as he fought* them; *and behaved ſo in Aſia, that he was reckoned the Conqueror in all People's Opinion.*

CAP. IV. Hic quum animo meditaretur proficiſci in Perſas, & ipſum regem adoriri; nuncius ei domo venit ephorum juſſu, bellum Athenienſes & Bœotios indixiſſe Lacedæmoniis: quare venire non dubitaret. In hoc, non minùs

CHAP. IV. *Whilſt he was propoſing in* his own *Mind to march into* the Country of *the Perſians, and attack the King himſelf; a Meſſenger came to him from Home, by the Order of the Ephori,* to tell him, *that the Athenians and the Bœotians had proclaimed*

minùs ejus pietatis ſuſcipienda eſt, quam virtus bellica: qui quum victori præeſſet exercitui, maximamque haberet fiduciam regni Perſarum potiundi; tantâ modeſtiâ dicto audiens fuit juſſis abſentium magiſtratuum, ut ſi privatus in comitio eſſet Spartæ. Cujus exemplum utinam imperatores noſtri ſequi voluiſſent! Sed illùc redeamus. Ageſilaus opulentiſſimo regno præpoſuit bonam exiſtimationem, multòque glorioſius duxit, ſi inſtitutis patriæ paruiſſet, quàm ſi bello ſuperâſſet Aſiam. Hâc igitur mente Helleſpontum copias trajecit, tantâque uſus eſt celeritate, ut quod iter Xerxes anno vertente confecerat, hic tranſîerit triginta diebus. Quum jam haud longè abeſſet à Peloponneſo, obſiſtere ei conati ſunt Athenienſes & Bœotii, cæterique eorum ſocii apud Coroneam, quos omnes gravi prælio vicit. Hujus victoriæ vel maxima fuit laus, quòd quum plerique ex fugâ ſe in templum Minervæ conjeciſſent, quærereturque ab eo, Quid his fieri vellet? etſi aliquot vulnera acceperat eo prælio, & iratus videbatur omnibus, qui adverſus

proclaimed War againſt the Lacedemonians; for which Reaſon he ſhould not delay to come Home. *In this, his Regard to his Country is no leſs to be admired, than his warlike Bravery; who, though he commanded a victorious Army, and had a very great Aſſurance of maſtering the Kingdom of the Perſians, was, with ſo much Modeſty obedient to the Orders of the abſent Magiſtrates, as if he had been a private Perſon in the Forum of Sparta. Whoſe Example * I wiſh our Generals would have followed! But let us return to the Buſineſs. Ageſilaus preferred a good Name before the moſt wealthy Kingdom, and thought it much more glorious if he obeyed the Laws of his Country, than if he conquered Aſia in War. With this Mind therefore he drew his Forces over the Helleſpont, and uſed ſo much Expedition, that he made in thirty Days a March that Xerxes was a whole Year about. When he was now not far from Peloponneſus, the Athenians and Bœotians, and the reſt of their Allies, endeavoured to oppoſe him at † Coronea; all which he conquered in a great Battle. It was the moſt commendable Thing in this Victory, that when a great many after the Rout had thrown themſelves into*

* In theſe Words our Author had a Reſpect to Julius Ceſar chiefly, who refuſed to diſband his Army at the Command of the Senate; which was the Occaſion of the Civil War, that ended in the Ruin of the Liberty and the Glory of Rome together.

† A City of Bœotia.

ſus arma tulerant, tamen antetulit iræ religionem, & eos vetuit violari. Neque hoc ſolùm in Græciâ fecit, ut templa deorum ſancta haberet; ſed etiam, apud barbaros, ſummâ religione, omnia ſimulacra araſque conſervavit. Itaque prædicabat, Mirari ſe, non ſacrilegorum numero haberi, qui ſupplicibus eorum nocuiſſent, aut non gravioribus pœnis affici, qui religionem minuerunt quàm qui fana ſpoliârint.

into the Temple of Minerva, and it was aſked him, what he would have done with them? Altho' he had received ſome Wounds in that Battle, and ſeemed angry with them all who had borne Arms againſt him, *yet he preferred his Religion before* the gratifying his *Reſentment, and forbade them to be hurt. Nor did he do this only in Greece, that is, treat the Temples of the Gods* as *ſacred; but likewiſe perſerved,* even *amongſt the Barbarians, all the Images* of the Gods, *and Altars, with the higheſt Veneration. Wherefore he ſaid, He wondered that thoſe were not accounted in the Number of ſacrilegious* Villains, *who hurt their Suppliants, or that they were not puniſhed with more heavy Puniſhment, who* * *prejudiced Religion, than thoſe who robbed Temples.*

CAP. V. Poſt hoc prælium, collatum eſt omne bellum circa Corinthum, ideoque Corinthium eſt appellatum. Hic, quum unâ pugnâ decem millia hoſtium, Ageſilao duce, cecidiſſent, eoque facto opes adverſariorum debilitatæ viderentur; tantùm abfuit ab inſolentiâ gloriæ, ut commiſeratus ſit fortunam Græciæ. quòd tam multi à ſe victi, vitio adverſariorum, concidiſſent. Namque illâ multitudine, ſi ſana mens

CHAP. V. *After this Battle, the Whole of the War was drawn together about Corinth, and therefore was called the Corinthian* War. *Here, when Ten Thouſand of the Enemy had been ſlain in one Battle,* wherein *Ageſilaus* was *General, and the Strength of the Enemy ſeemed broken by that Action; he was ſo far from the Inſolence of boaſting, that he lamented the Fortune of Greece, that ſo many, by the Fault of the Enemies,* had been *conquered by him,* and *fallen. For with that* Number

* If theſe Words of our Author are capable of any good conſiſtent Senſe, I confeſs, for my Part, I underſtood them not.

mens eſſet Græciæ Supplicium Perſas dare potuiſſe. Idem, quum adverſarios intra mœnia compuliſſet, & ut Corinthum oppugnaret multi hortarentur, negavit id ſuæ virtuti convenire: Se enim eum eſſe dixit, qui ad officium peccantes redire cogeret; non qui urbes nobiliſſimas expugnaret Græciæ. Nam ſi (inquit) extinguere voluerimus qui nobiſcum adverſus barbaros ſteterunt, noſmetipſi nos expugnaverimus, illis quieſcentibus; quo facto, ſine negotio, quum voluerint, nos oppriment.

Number of Men, *the Perſians might have been puniſhed by Greece, if they had but a right Mind. The ſame* Man, *after he had forced the Enemies within their Walls,* and *many adviſed him to attack Corinth, he denied that was agreeable to his Conduct: For he ſaid, He was one who would force Offenders to return to their Duty; not take the nobleſt Cities of Greece: For if, ſays he, we have a Mind to ruin thoſe who have ſided with us againſt the Barbarians, we ſhall conquer ourſelves whilſt they are quiet; after which, they will, without Difficulty, ſubdue us when they pleaſe.*

CAP. VI. Interim accidit illa calamitas apud Leuctra Lacedæmoniis; quo ne proficiſceretur quum à pleriſque ad exeundum premeretur, ut ſi de exitu divinaret, exire noluit. Idem, quum Epaminondas Spartam oppugnaret, eſſetque ſine muris oppidum, talem ſe imperatorem præbuit, ut eo tempore omnibus apparuerit, niſi ille fuiſſet, Spartam futuram non fuiſſe, in quo quidem diſcrimine, celeritas ejus conſilii ſaluti fuit univerſis. Nam quum quidam adoleſcentuli, hoſtium adventu perterriti, ad Thebanos transfugere vellent, & locum extra urbem editum cepiſſent: Ageſilaus, qui perniciofiſſimum fore videret, ſi animadverſum eſſet quenquam ad hoſtes transfugere conari, cum

CHAP. VI. *In the mean Time that Calamity at Leuctra befel the Lacedemonians; whither tho' he was preſſed by a great many to go, as if he had had a divine Foreſight of the Event he would not go. The ſame* Man, *when Epaminondas attacked Sparta, and the Town was without Walls, ſhewed himſelf ſuch a General, that at that Time it was viſible to all* People, *that unleſs he had been* there, *Sparta would not have been* any more. *In which Danger the Quickneſs of his Contrivance was the Preſervation of* them *all. For when certain young Men, affrighted with the Approach of the Enemy, intended to run over to the Thebans, and had ſeized a high Place without the City; Ageſilaus, who ſaw that that would be of the moſt pernicious* Conſequence, *if it*

cum ſuis eò venit, atque, ut ſi bono animo feciſſent, laudavit conſilium eorum, quòd eum locum occupâſſent, & ſe id quoque fieri debere animadvertiſſe. Sic adoleſcentulos ſimulatâ laudatione recuperavit; & adjunctis de ſuis comitibus, locum tutum reliquit: namque illi, aucto numero eorum, qui expertes erant conſilii, commovere ſe non ſunt auſi; eòque libentiùs, quod latere arbitrabantur, quæ cogitârant.

ſhould be obſerved, that any one endeavoured to fly over to the Enemy, came with ſome of *his Men thither; and as if they had done it with a good Intention, commended their Thought, in that they had ſeized that Place, and that he had obſerved, that ought to be done. Thus he recovered the young Fellows by a pretended Commendation* of them; *and having joined ſome of his Attendants* with them, *he left the Place ſafe; for they, * their Number being increaſed* with thoſe *who were acquainted with the Deſign, durſt not ſtir;* and they ſtaid *the more willingly, becauſe they thought that what they had intended was not known.*

CAP. VII. Sine dubio, poſt Leuctricam pugnam, Lacedæmonii ſe nunquam refecerunt neque priſtinum imperium recuperârunt: quum, interim, Ageſilaus non deſtitit quibuſcunque rebus poſſet, patriam juvare. Nam quum præcipuè Lacedæmonii indegerent pecuniâ, ille omnibus, qui à rege defecerant, præſidio fuit; à quibus magnâ donatus pecuniâ, patriam ſublevavit. Atque in hoc illud imprimis fuit admirabile; quum maxima munera ei ab regibus

CHAP. VII. *Without doubt, after the Battle of Leuctra, the Lacedemonians never recovered themſelves, nor regained their former Power; whilſt, in the mean Time, Ageſilaus did not ceaſe to help his Country, by whatſoever Means he could. For when the Lacedemonians very much wanted Money, he was the Security of all* thoſe *that had revolted from the King; by whom being preſented with a great* Sum *of Money, he relieved his Country. And in this* Man *this was above all other Things to be admired: When very great*

* Our Author has expreſſed himſelf here improperly: For it is viſible he intended what I have expreſſed in my Tranſlation. But it is as viſible to any attentive Reader, that his Words will not bear that Senſe, nor, indeed, any good Senſe at all.

regibus, & dynaſtis, civitatibuſque conferrentur, nihil unquam in domum ſuam contulit, nihil de victu, nihil de veſtitu Laconum mutavit: domo eâdem fuit contentus quâ Euryſthenes, progenitor majorum ſuorum, fuerat uſus; quam qui intrârat, nullum ſignum libidinis, nullum luxuriæ videre poterat: contra, plurima patientiæ atque abſtinentiæ. Sic enim erat inſtructa, ut nulla in re differret à cujuſvis inopis atque privati.

great Preſents were made him by Kings and Princes and States, he brought nothing ever to his own Home, changed nothing of the Diet and Dreſs of the Lacedemonians: He was content with the ſame Houſe, which Euryſthenes, the Progenitor of his Forefathers, had uſed; which he that entered, could ſee no Sign of Luſt, no Sign *of Luxury*; but, *on the other Hand, many of Hardineſs and Juſtice. For it was ſo furniſhed, that it differed in nothing from* the Houſe *of any poor and private Perſon.*

CAP. VIII. Atque hic tantus vir, ut naturam fautricem habuerat in tribuendis animi virtutibus, ſic maleficam nactus eſt in corpore, exiguus, & claudus altero pede. Quæ res etiam nonnullam afferebat deformitatem: atque ignoti, faciem ejus quum intuerentur, contemnebant: qui autem virtutem noverant, non poterant admirari ſatis. Quod ei uſu venit, quum annorum octoginta ſubſidio Thaco in Ægyptum iviſſet, & in actâ cùm ſuis accubuiſſet, ſine ullo tecto, ſtratumque haberet tale, ut terra tecta eſſet ſtramentis, neque huc ampliùs quàm pellis eſſet injecta; eodemque comites omnes accubuiſſent, veſtitu humili, atque obſoleto, ut eorum ornatus non modò in his regem neminem ſignificaret; ſed hominis non beatiſſimi ſuſpicionem præberet. Hujus

CHAP. VIII. *And this ſo great a Man, as he had had Nature a Favourer* of *him, in beſtowing the Endowments of the Mind on him, ſo he found her miſchievous in his Body, being little, and lame of one Foot. Which Thing occaſioned likewiſe ſome Deformity; and Strangers, when they beheld his Perſon, deſpiſed him; but they, who knew his Ability, could not admire him ſufficiently. Which happened to him when he went, at Fourſcore Years* of Age, *into Egypt, to the Relief of Thacus, and was laid upon the Shore with his* Men, *without any Covering, and had ſuch a Convenience for lying on, that the Earth was* but *covered with Straw, and nothing more than a Skin thrown upon it; and all his Attendants* likewiſe *laid upon the ſame, in mean and threadbare Cloaths, that their Dreſs did not only ſet forth, that none amongſt them was a*

Hujus de adventu facta quum ad regem esset perlata, mirum in modum eo cupidus ejus generis homo incidit. His nuntiantibus Agesilaum, nisi fides facta ejus esse ex his qui tum accumbebant. Qui quum regis verba, quæ audiebat, crederent, nec præter ceteros humanos & hujusmodi genera cognitionis, quæ præsens tempus desiderabat, illum acciperet; unguenta, coronas, fercula quæque mensam ornare dispersit: cætera referri jussit. Quo facto eum barbari magis etiam contempserunt, quod eum ignorantia bonarum rerum sic pervulgatum similis arbitrarentur. Hic quum ex Ægypto reverteretur, donatus à rege Nectanebe ducentis viginti talentis, quæ ille munus populo suo daret, venitque in portum, qui Menelai vocatur, jacens inter Cyrenas & Ægyptum; in morbum implicitus decessit. Ibi eum amici quo, Spartam facilius

King: but grew a Satyrion of a Person there not very rich. When the News of his coming was brought to the Courtiers, Presents were quickly brought him of every Kind. * *Scarcity was a Person then brought in scene, upon enquiring for Agesilaus, that he was not to come that time by water. Who, when they had given him in the King's Name what they had brought, took nothing but Meal and such Sorts of Victuals which the present Occasion required; as Onions, Cheese, and Sweetmeats amongst the Slaves, and commanded the rest to be carried back. Upon which the Barbarians despised him still the more, because they thought he had made Choice of those Things out of Ignorance of what was good. When he returned from Egypt, being presented by King Nectanebes with Two Hundred and Twenty Talents, to give as a Present to his People, and was come into the Harbour which is called*

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* This is to my thinking, as pretty a Picture, as is any where to be met with in all Antiquity, and enough to give a Man a Loathe for the Vanities and Fopperies that human Life is so much cumbered and crowded with. Methinks, I see a Parcel of empty, gaudy Theatrick Fops, that had no Reliſh for any Thing truly great, and could expreſs, by their Sneers and ſcornful Air, a Contempt of the greateſt Monuments of the human Mind, becauſe they were not capable of admiring; whilſt the Monarch with a Sedateneſs ſuitable to his Grandeur, and a generous Diſdain of the Folly of the ſorry Animals about him, and a juſt Indifference for their Opinion of him, ſatisfies the Neceſſities of Nature in the moſt proper Manner, and leaves them to freeze on.

ciliùs perferre poſſent, quòd mel non habebant, cerâ circumfuderunt, atque ita domum retulerunt.

called Menelaus, lying betwixt * *Cyrene and Egypt; falling into a Diſtemper, he died. There his Friends, that they might the more conveniently carry him to Sparta, becauſe they had no* † *Honey, wrapped him in Wax; and ſo brought him Home.*

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* A City of Africa, upon the Mediterranean, Weſt from Egypt.
† The Spartans made Uſe of Honey, in embalming dead Bodies.



XVIII.

EUMENES, Cardianus.

CAP. I.

EUmenes Cardianus. Hujus ſi virtuti par data eſſet fortuna, non ille quidem major, ſed multò illuſtrior, atque etiam honoratior: quòd magnos homines virtute metimur, non fortunâ. Nam quum ætas ejus incidiſſet in ea tempora, quibus Macedones florerent, multùm ei detraxit, inter eos viventi, quòd alienæ erat civitatis. Neque aliud huic defuit, quàm generoſa ſtirps: etſi enim ille domeſtico ſummo genere erat, tamen Macedones eum ſibi aliquando anteponi, indignè ferebant. Neque tamen non patiebantur; vincebat enim omnes curâ, vigilantiâ, patientiâ, calliditate & celeritate ingenii. Hic, peradoleſcentulus, ad amicitiam acceſſit Philippi, Amyntæ filii, brevique tempore in intimam pervenit familiaritatem; fulgebat enim jam in adoleſcentulo indoles virtutis. Itaque eum habuit ad manum, ſcribæ loco; quod multò apud Graios honori-

XVIII.

EUMENES, the Cardian.

CHAP. I.

Umenes the Cardian. *If Fortune had been allotted him equal to his great Abilities, he* would *not indeed* have been *a greater Man, but much more illuſtrious, and, likewiſe, more honourable; becauſe we meaſure great Men by their great Qualities, and not by their Fortune. For his Life having fallen in thoſe Times, in which the Macedonians flouriſhed, it took from him very much, as he lived among ſt them, that he was of a foreign Nation. Nor was any Thing elſe wanting to him, but a noble Deſcent: For though he was of the higheſt Quality at Home, yet the Macedonians took it heinouſly, that he was ſometimes preferred before them. Neither yet did they not bear with it; for he excelled them all in Care, Vigilance, Hardineſs, Subtilty, and Quickneſs of Parts. He,* when *a very young Man, was admitted to the Friendſhip of Philip, the Son of Amyntas, and in a ſhort Time came to an intimate Familiarity* with him: *For even then there appeared*

honorificentius eſt, quàm apud Romanos: nam apud nos revera, ſicut ſunt, mercenarii ſcribæ exiſtimantur; at apud illos, contrariò, nemo ad id officium admittitur, niſi honeſto loco,-& fide, & induſtriâ cognitâ; quòd neceſſe eſt omnium conſiliorum eum eſſe participem. Hunc locum tenuit amicitiæ apud Philippum annos ſeptem. Iſto interfecto, eodem gradu fuit apud Alexandrum annos tredecim. Noviſſimo tempore præfuit etiam alteri equitum alæ, quæ *Hetærice* appellabatur. Utrique autem & in concilio ſemper affuit, & omnium rerum habitus eſt particeps.

peared in him, though *very young, an able Genius. Wherefore he kept him with him in the Place of a Secretary; which is much more honourable amongſt the Greeks than amongſt the Romans; for with us Secretaries are accounted in Reality, as* they *are, Hirelings: but with them, on the contrary, nobody is admitted to that Office, unleſs of a good Family, and known Integrity and Induſtry; becauſe it is neceſſary for him to be a Sharer in all Counſels. He held this Poſt of Friendſhip under Philip ſeven Years. After he was ſlain, he was in the ſame Place under Alexander thirteen Years. At laſt likewiſe he commanded one Wing of Horſe, which was called* * Hetærice. *He was with both of them always one in the Council, and was treated as an Aſſociate in all Affairs.*

CAP. II. Alexandro Babylone mortuo, quum regna ſingulis familiaribus diſpertirentur, & ſumma rerum tradita eſſet tuenda eidem, cui Alexander moriens annulum ſuum dederat, Perdiccæ: ex quo omnes conjecerant, eum regnum ei commendâſſe, quoad liberi ejus in ſuam tutelam perveniſſent: (aberant enim Craterus & Antipater, qui antecedere hunc videbantur: mortuus erat Hephæſtio, quem unum

CHAP. II. *Alexander dying at Babylon, when Kingdoms were diſtributed to each of his Friends, and the chief Management of Affairs was delivered to him to take Care of, to whom Alexander,* when *dying, had given his Ring, to Perdiccas: From whence all had conjectured, that he had recommended his Kingdom to him, till his Children ſhould come* to be *in their own Tuition (for Craterus and Antipater were abſent, who ſeemed to be before him: Hephæſtio*

* *Ala* is uſed for the Wing of an Army conſiſting of Horſe, whether more or leſs; but here it is put for a certain ſtanding Body of Horſe, called *Hetærice*, becauſe it was made up of Gentlemen that were Aſſociates, or Companions of the King.

unum Alexander, quod facilè intelligi poſſet, plurimi fecerat) hoc tempore data eſt Eumeni Cappadocia, ſive potiùs dicta; nam tum in hoſtium erat poteſtate. Hunc ſibi Perdiccas adjunxerat magno ſtudio, quòd in homine fidem & induſtriam magnam videbat; non dubitans, ſi eum pellexiſſet, magno uſui fore ſibi in his rebus, quas apparabat. Cogitabat enim (quod ferè omnes in magnis imperiis concupiſcunt) omnium partes corripere atque amplecti. Neque verò hoc ſolus fecit, ſed cæteri quoquè omnes, qui Alexandri fuerant amici. Primus, Leonnatus Macedoniam præoccupare deſtinaverat: Is multis magnis pollicitationibus perſuadere Eumeni ſtuduit, ut Perdiccam deſereret, ac ſecum faceret ſocietatem. Quum perducere eum non poſſet, interficere conatus eſt: et feciſſet, niſi ille clam noctu ex præſidiis ejus effugiſſet.

ſhip was dead, whom Alexander, as might be eaſily underſtood, had valued very highly;) at this Time Cappadocia was given to Eumenes, or rather named for him; *for then it was in the Power of the Enemies. Him Perdiccas had engaged to him with great Earneſtneſs, becauſe he ſaw in the Man great Integrity and Induſtry; not doubting, if he could* but *wheedle him over, that he would be of great Service to them in thoſe Things which he had in Agitation. For he intended (what commonly all in great Empires covet) to ſeize and take in the Shares of all* the reſt. *Nor did he alone do this, but likewiſe all the reſt, who had been Alexander's Friends. Firſt, Leonnatus had intended to ſeize upon Macedonia; he endeavoured to perſuade Eumenes, by many* and *great Promiſes, to forſake Perdiccas, and to make an Alliance with him. When he could not bring him to, he attempted to kill him; and had done it, unleſs he had privately eſcaped in the Night-time out of his Garriſons.*

CAP. III. Interim conflata ſunt illa bella, quæ ad internecionem, poſt Alexandri mortem, geſta ſunt; omneſque concurrerunt ad Perdiccam opprimendum: Quem etſi infirmum videbat, quòd unus omnibus reſiſtere cogebatur, tamen amicum non deſeruit; neque ſalutis quàm fidei fuit cupidior. Præfecerat eum Perdiccas ei parti Aſiæ,

CHAP. III. *In the mean Time thoſe Wars broke out, which, after the Death of Alexander, were carried on to the utter Ruin* of the Parties; *and all agreed together to ruin Perdiccas: Whom though he ſaw* but *weak, becauſe he alone was forced to ſtand againſt them all, yet he did not forſake his Friend; nor was he more deſirous of his* own *Security, than of* preſerving *his Honour.*

Asiæ, quæ inter Taurum montem jacet atque Hellespontum: & illum unum oppoſuerat Europæis adverſariis: ipſe Ægyptum oppugnatum adverſus Ptolemæum erat profectus. Eumenes, quum neque magnas copias, neque firmas haberet, quòd inexercitatæ, & non multò antè erant contractæ; adventare autem dicerentur, Helleſpontumque tranſiiſſe Antipater & Craterus, magno cum exercitu Macedonum, viri cum claritate, tum uſu belli præſtantes: (Macedones verò milites eâ tunc erant famâ, quâ nunc Romani feruntur: etenim ſemper habiti ſunt fortiſſimi, qui ſummam imperii potirentur.) Eumenes intelligebat, ſi copiæ ſuæ cognoſcerent, adverſus quos ducerentur, non modo non ituras, ſed ſimul cum nuncio dilapſuras: Itaque hoc ejus fuit prudentiſſimum conſilium, ut deviis itineribus milites duceret, in quibus vera audire non poſſent; & his perſuaderet, ſe contra quoſdam barbaros proficiſci. Itaque tenuit hoc propoſitum & priùs in aciem exercitum eduxit, præliumque commiſit, quàm milites ſui ſcirent, cum quibus arma conferrent. Effecit etiam illud locorum præoccupatione, uti equitatu potiùs dimicaret, quo plus valebat, quàm peditatu, quo erat deterior.

neur. Perdiccas had ſet him over that Part of Aſia, which lies betwixt Mount Taurus and the Helleſpont; and had poſted him alone againſt all his *European Adverſaries: He himſelf had marched againſt Ptolemy, to invade Egypt. Eumenes, though he had neither a great Army, nor a ſtrong one, becauſe it was unexerciſed, and raiſed not long before, and Antipater and Craterus were ſaid to be coming, and to have paſſed the Helleſpont with a great Army of Macedonians, Men, excelling both in Fame and Experience in War: (For the Macedonian Soldiers were then in that Repute, in which the Romans now are reckoned; for they have been always accounted the moſt valiant who held the chief Sway* in the World) *Eumenes was ſenſible, if his Troops underſtood againſt whom they were led, that they would not only not march, but would ſlip away with the News* of it. *Wherefore this Contrivance of his was very prudent, to lead his Soldiers by out-of-the-way Marches, in which they could not hear the Truth; and to perſuade them, that he was marching againſt ſome Barbarians. And accordingly he carried his Point, and drew his Army out into the Field, and joined Battle, before his Soldiers knew with whom they were engaged. He likewiſe gained that Point, by his timely ſeizing of Places, that he fought more with his Horſe, in which he was ſtronger, than with his Foot, in which he was* but *weak.*

CAP. IV. Quorum acerrimo concurſu quum magnam partem diei eſſet pugnatum, cadit Craterus dux, & Neoptolemus, qui ſecundum locum imperii tenebat. Cum hoc concurrit ipſe Eumenes; qui, quum inter ſe complexi, in terram ex equis decidiſſent, ut facile intelligi poſſet inimicâ mente contendiſſe, animoque magis etiam pugnâſſe, quàm corpore: non priùs diſtracti ſunt, quàm alterum anima reliquerit. Ab hoc aliquot plagis Eumenes vulneratur: neque eò magis ex prælio exceſſit, ſed acriùs hoſtibus inſtitit. Hîc, equitibus profligatis, interfecto duce Cratero, multis præterea & maximè nobilibus, captis; pedeſtris exercitus, quòd in ea loca erat deductus, ut invito Eumene elabi non poſſet, pacem ab eo petit: quam quum impetrâſſet, in fide non manſit, & ſe, ſimul ac potuit, ad Antipatrum recepit. Eumenes Craterum ex acie ſemivivum elatum recreare ſtuduit; quum id non potuiſſet, pro hominis dignitate proque priſtinâ amicitiâ (namque illo uſus erat, Alexandro vivo familiariter) amplo funere extulit, oſſaque in Macedoniam uxori ejus ac liberis remiſit.

CAP.

CHAP. IV. *After they had fought in a very deſperate Engagement, a great Part of the Day, Craterus the General falls, and Neoptolemus* too, *who had the ſecond Poſt of Command. With him Eumenes himſelf engages; who, when grappling one another, they had fallen upon the Ground from their Horſes, that it might eaſily be underſtood that they had engaged with a pernicious Intention, and fought more with Mind than Body, were not ſeparated, before Life left one* of them. *Eumenes is wounded by him with ſome Strokes; nor did he for that go out of the Battle, but preſſed more briſkly upon the Enemy. Here, the Horſe being routed, their General Craterus ſlain, many beſides, and eſpecially Noblemen, being taken; the Infantry, becauſe they were got into thoſe Places, from whence they could not eſcape without Eumenes's Leave, begged Peace of him; which when they had obtained, they did not continue in their Engagement, and withdrew themſelves, as ſoon as they could, to Antipater. Eumenes endeavoured to recover Craterus, being carried half alive out of the Field: When he could not* do *that, he buried him with a noble Funeral, according to the Dignity of the Man, and their former Friendſhip (for he had been very familiar with him,* whilſt *Alexander* was *living;) and ſent his Bones into Macedonia to his Wife and Children.*

CHAP.

CAP. V. Hæc dum apud Helleſpontum geruntur, Perdiccas apud flumen Nilum interficitur à Seleuco & Antigono; rerumque ſumma ad Antipatrum defertur. Hîc qui deſeruerant, exercitu ſuffragium ferente, capitis, abſentes damnantur: in his Eumenes. Hâc ille perculſus plagâ, non ſuccubuit, neque eo ſecius bellum adminiſtravit. Sed exiles res animi magnitudinem etſi non frangebant, tamen imminuebant. Hunc perſequens Antigonus, quum omni genere copiarum abundaret, ſæpe in itineribus vexabatur, neque unquam ad manum accedere licebat, niſi his locis, quibus multis poſſent pauci reſiſtere. Sed extremo tempore, quum conſilio capi non poſſet, multitudine circumventus eſt: Hinc tamen, multis ſuis amiſſis, ſe expedivit: & in caſtellum Phrygiæ, quod Nora appellatur, confugit: In quo, cùm circumſederetur, & vereretur, ne uno loco manens, equos militares perderet, quòd ſpatium non eſſet agitandi; callidum fuit ejus inventum quemadmodum ſtans jumentum calefieri exercerique poſſet, quò libentiùs & cibo uteretur, & à corporis motu non removeretur. Subſtringebat caput loro altiùs, quam ut prioribus pedibus planè terram poſſet attingere; deinde poſt verberibus cogebat exultare, & calces

CHAP. V. *Whilſt theſe Things are done at the Helleſpont, Perdiccas was ſlain at the River Nile, by Seleucus and Antigonus; and the chief Direction of Affairs is conferred upon Antipater. Here, they who had forſaken* them, *the Army giving their Votes, are condemned in their Abſence* to the Loſs *of Life: Amongſt theſe* was *Eumenes. He, being ſhocked with this Stroke,* yet *did not ſink under it, nor ever a whit the leſs go on with the War. But little Things, though they did not break the Greatneſs of his Mind, yet they leſſened it. Antigonus purſuing him, though he abounded in all Sorts of Troops, was often* ſadly *plagued* by him *in his Marches, nor could he ever come to Strokes, but in thoſe Places, in which a few might reſiſt many. But at laſt, when he could not be taken by Conduct, he was ſurrounded by their vaſt Number; yet he got clear from hence* too, *many of his Men being loſt, and fled into a Caſtle of Phrygia, which is called Nora: In which, when he was beſieged, and afraid, leſt,* by *ſtaying in one Place, he ſhould ſpoil his War-Horſes, becauſe there was no Room to exerciſe them; his Invention was cunning, how a Horſe might be warmed and exerciſed ſtanding, that he might both eat his Provender more freely, and not be kept from bodily Motion. He tied up his Head with a leathern Strap, higher than that he could quite touch the Ground with his*

ces remittere: qui motus non minùs ſudorem excutiebat, quàm ſi in ſpacio decurrerent. Quo factum eſt, quod omnibus mirabile eſt viſum, ut jumenta æque nitida ex caſtello educeret, quum complures menſes in obſidione tuiſſet, ac ſi in campeſtribus ea locis habuiſſet. Eâ concluſione, quotieſcunque voluit, & apparatum & munitiones Antigoni alias incendit, alias dejecit. Tenuit autem ſe uno loco, quamdiu fuit hyëms, quòd caſtra ſub dio habere non poterat. Ver appropinquabat, ſimulata deditione, dum de conditionibus tractat, præfectis Antigoni impoſuit, ſeque ac ſuos omnes extraxit incolumes.

Fore-feet; then he forced him, with aſking behind, to bounce, and threw back his Heels: which Motion fetched the Sweat no leſs, than if they had run in the open Field. By which was effected that which ſeemed wonderful to all, that he drew his Horſes as neat out of the Caſtle, though he had been ſeveral Months under a Siege, as if he had had them in the open Fields. In that Siege, as often as he had a Mind, he one while ſet on fire, and another while tore a-pieces, all the Works and Fortifications of Antigonus. But he kept himſelf in one Place, as long as it was Winter, becauſe he could not have a Camp in the open Air. Now *Spring approached, pretending to ſurrender, whilſt he treats upon the Terms, he impoſed upon the Commanders of Antigonus, and drew off himſelf and all his Men ſafe.*

CAP. VI. Ad hunc Olympias, mater quæ fuerat Alexandri, quum literas & nuncios miſiſſet in Aſiam, conſultum utrum repetitum veniret Macedoniam, (nam tum in Epiro habitabat) & eas res occuparet: huic ille primùm ſuaſit, ne ſe moveret, & expectaret, quoad Alexandri filius regnum adipiſceretur: ſin aliqua cupiditate raperetur in Macedoniam, omnium injuriarum oblivîſceretur, & in neminem acerbiore uteretur imperio. Horum nihil ea fecit; nam & in Macedoniam

CHAP. VI. *When Olympias, who had been the Mother of Alexander, had ſent Letters and Meſſengers into Aſia to him to conſult* him, *whether ſhe ſhould come to recover Macedonia, (for ſhe then lived in Epire) and ſeize the Government there; he firſt of all adviſed her not to ſtir, and to ſtay till the Son of Alexander ſhould get the Kingdom; but if ſhe was carried by any ſtrong Deſire for Macedonia, to forget all Injuries, and to uſe a rigid Government towards no body. She did nothing of this: For ſhe both went into Macedonia, and*

there

cedoniam profecta eſt, & ibi crudeliſſimè ſe geſſit. Petivit autem ab Eumene abſente, ne pateretur Philippi domûs & familiæ inimiciſſimos regnare, amiciſſimos interire, ferretque opum liberis Alexandri: quam veniam, ſi ſibi daret, quàm primùm exercitus pararet, quos ſibi ſubſidio adduceret: id quò facilius faceret, ſe omnibus præfectis, qui in officio manebant, miſiſſe literas, ut ei parerent, ejuſque conſiliis uteruntur. His verbis Eumenes permotus, ſatiùs duxit, ſi ita tuliſſet fortuna, perire bene meritis referentem Gratiam, quàm ingratum vivere.

there behaved herſelf moſt cruelly. She begged too of Eumenes, though *abſent, that he would not ſuffer the bitter Enemies of Philip's Houſe and Family to reign,* and *his beſt Friends to periſh, and bring Aſſiſtance to the Children of Alexander: Which Favour, if he would do her, he might raiſe Armies as ſoon as poſſible, to bring to their Relief: That he might do that the more eaſily, ſhe had written to all the Governors of* Provinces, *that continued in their Duty, to obey him, and take his Advice. Eumenes being moved with thoſe Words* of her's, *thought it better, if Fortune would have it ſo, to periſh* in *making a Return to thoſe that had deſerved well from him, than to live ungrateful.*

CAP. VII. Itaque copias contraxis, bellum adverſus Antigonum comparavit. Quod unà erant Macedones complùres nobiles, in his Leuceſtes, qui corporis cuſtos fuerat Alexandri, tum autem obtinebat Perſidem; & Antigenes, cujus ſub imperio phalanx erat Macedonum, invidiam verens (quam tamen effugere non potuit) ſi potiùs ipſi alienigena ſummi imperii potiretur, quàm alii Macedonum, quorum ibi erat multitudo; in principiis nomine Alexandri ſtatuit tabernaculum,

CHAP. VII. *Wherefore he got together Troops,* and *prepared for a War againſt Antigonus. Becauſe there were with him a great many noble Macedemonians,* and *amongſt them Leuceſtes, who had been a Life-Guard Man of Alexander's, and at that Time held Perſia; and Antigenes, under whoſe Command the Phalanx of the Macedonians was, fearing Envy (which yet he could not eſcape) if he a Stranger ſhould rather have the chief Command, than others of the Macedonians, of which there was a great Number there; he erects a Tent in the * Principia, in the* Name

* The *Principia* was that Place in the Camp where the General's Tent was, where the Standards were ſtuck in the Earth, during the

lum, in eoque ſellam auream, cum ſceptro ac diademate, juſſit poni, eòque omnes quotidie convenire, ut ubi de ſummis rebus conſilia caperentur; credens minore ſe invidiâ fore, ſi ſpecie imperii, nominiſque ſimulatione Alexandri, bellum videretur adminiſtrare: quod & fecit; nam quum non ad Eumenis principia, ſed ad regia conveniretur, atque ibi de rebus deliberaretur, quodammodo latebat, quum tamen per eum unum gererentur omnia.

Name of Alexander, and ordered a Gold Chair, with a Sceptre and a Diadem, to be placed in it, and all to repair thither every Day, that there Council might be taken about important Matters; thinking that he ſhould be under leſs Envy, if he appeared to manage the War, under Show of the Command, and under Pretence of the Name of Alexander: which he likewiſe did; for as they did not meet at the Principia of Eumenes, but at the King's, and there debated about their Affairs, be in a Manner was concealed, though notwithſtanding all Things were done by him alone.

CAP. VIII. Hic in Paræ-tacis cum Antigono conflixit, non acie inſtructâ, ſed in itinere; eumque malè acceptum in Mediam hyëmatum cŏëgit redire. Ipſe in finitimâ regione Perſidis hyëmatum copias diviſit; non ut voluit, ſed ut militum cogebat voluntas. Namque illa phalanx Alexandri Magni, quæ Aſiam peragrârat, deviceratque Perſas, inveteratâ cum gloriâ, tum etiam licentiâ, non parere ſe ducibus, ſed imperare poſtulabat, ut nunc veterani faciunt noſtri. Itaque periculum eſt ne faciant, quod illi fecerunt ſuâ intemperantiâ, nimiaque licentiâ, ut omnia perdant, neque minùs eos, cum quibus

CHAP. VIII. *He engaged in* the Country of the * *Parætaci, with Antigonus, not with his Army regularly drawn up, but upon his March; and forced him, being ill handled, to return into Media, to winter. He diſtributed his Troops into Winter-Quarters, in the neighbouring Country of Perſia, not as he had a Mind, but as the Pleaſure of the Soldiers obliged him. For that Phalanx of Alexander the Great, which had overrun all Aſia, and overcome the Perſians, being grown old both in Glory and Licentiouſneſs too, expected not to obey their Generals, but to command them, as our Veterans now do. Wherefore there is* ſome *Danger, leſt they ſhould do what thoſe did, by their diſorderly Behaviour, and extravagant Licen-*

the Encampment; there likewiſe Courts, for the Cognizance of Miſdemeanors, and Councils of War, were held.

* A People of Perſia.

bus ſteterint, quàm adverſus quos fecerint: Quòd ſi quis illorum veteranorum legat facta, paria horum cognoſcat; neque rem ullam, niſi tempus, intereſſe judicet. Sed ad illos revertar. Hyberna ſumpſerant, non ad uſum belli, ſed ad ipſorum luxuriam: longèque inter ſe diſceſſerant. Hoc Antigonus quum comperiſſet, intelligeretque ſe parem non eſſe paratis adverſariis, ſtatuit aliquid ſibi conſilii novi eſſe capiendum. Duæ erant viæ, quà ex Medis, ubi ille hyemabat, ad adverſariorum hybernacula poſſet pervenirì: quarum brevior per loca deſerta, quæ nemo incolebat, propter aquæ inopiam: cæterum dierum erat ferè decem. Illa autem, quà omnes commeabant, altero tanto longiorum habebat anfractum: ſed erat copioſa, omniumque rerum abundans. Hàc ſi proficiſceretur, intelligebat priùs adverſarios reſcituros de ſuo adventu, quàm ille tertiam partem confeciſſet itineris ſui: ſin per loca ſola contenderet, ſperabat ſe imprudentem hoſtem oppreſſurum. Ad hanc rem conficiendam, imperavit quàm plurimos utres atque etiam culeos comparari; poſt hæc pabulum, præterea cibaria cocta, dierum decem, utque quàm minimè fieret ignis in caſtris. Iter quod habebat, omnes celat.

Licentiouſneſs, ruin all, no leſs thoſe with whom they have ſided, than thoſe againſt whom they fought. And if any one reads the Actions of theſe Veterans, he will find the Actions *of theſe* of ours *like them; nor will judge there is any Thing* of Difference *betwixt them, but* that *of Time. But I ſhall return to them. They had taken up their Winter Quarters, not for the Convenience of War, but for their own Luxury; and had ſeparated at a great Diſtance from one another. When Antigonus had found this, and was ſenſible that he was not a Match for his Enemy prepared for him, he reſolves to take ſome new Courſe. There were two Ways by which they might come from* the Country *of the Medes, to the Winter Quarters of the Enemies: The ſhorter of which* was *through deſart Places, which no body inhabited, by Reaſon of the Scarcity of Water; but it was* only *about ten Days* March. *But the other, by which all People travelled, had a Wind-about as long again; but it was plentiful, and abounding in all Things. If he went this Way, he was ſenſible his Enemies would know of his Coming, before he had made a third Part of his March; but if he ſhould go through the deſart Places, he hoped he ſhould come upon the Enemy unawares. For the doing of this Matter, he ordered a great many leathern Bottles and Sacks to be got together; after that Forage, beſides Meat ready dreſſed for ten Days, and that as little Fire as poſſible ſhould*

CAP. *be*

CAP. IX. Sic paratus, quà conſtituerat, proficiſcitur. Dimidium ferè ſpatium confecerat, quum, ex fumo caſtrorum ejus, ſuſpicio allata eſt ad Eumenem, hoſtem appropinquare. Conveniunt duces; quæritur quid opus ſit facto. Intelligebant omnes tam celeriter copias ipſorum contrahi non poſſe, quàm Antigonus affuturus videbatur. Hìc omnibus titubantibus, & de rebus ſummis deſperantibus; Eumenes ait, Si celeritatem velint adhibere, & imperata facere, quod antè non fecerint, ſe rem expeditum; nam quod diebus quinque hoſtis tranſire poſſet, effecturum, ut non minùs totidem dierum ſpatio retardaretur. Quare circumirent, ſuas quiſque copias contraheret. Ad Antigoni autem refrænandum impetum tale capit conſilium: Certos mittit homines ad infimos montes, qui obvii erant itineri adverſariorum, hiſque præcipit, ut primâ nocte quàm latiſſimè poſſint, ignes faciant quàm maximos; atque hos ſecunda vigilia minuant, tertia perexiguos reddant: &, aſſimulatâ caſtrorum conſuetudine, ſuſpicionem injiciant hoſtibus, his locis eſſe caſtra, ac de eorum adventu eſſe prænuntiatum; idemq; poſterâ nocte faciant.

be made in the Camp. He conceals from all People the March which he was about.

CHAP. IX. *Being thus provided, he goes* the Way *he had intended. He had got almoſt half Way, when, from the Smoke of the Camp, a Suſpicion was brought to Eumenes, that the Enemy was coming. The Generals met: It is debated amongſt them, what was neceſſary to be done. They all knew, that their Troops could not ſo ſoon be got together, as Antigonus ſeemed likely to be there. Here all of them heſitating* upon the Matter, *and deſpairing of the main Stake: Eumenes ſays, If they would* but *uſe Expedition, and perform Orders, which they had not done before, he would clear the Matter: For whereas the Enemies might paſs in five Days, he would take Care that they ſhould be retarded not leſs than as many Days Time. Wherefore* he ordered them *to go about, and every Man to get together his Troops. He takes this Method to retard the Progreſs of Antigonus. He ſends truſty Men to the Bottom of the Mountains which were oppoſite to the Enemy's March, and ordered them to make as large Fires, and as far and wide, as they could, in the Beginning of the Night; and leſſening them the ſecond Watch, make them very little the third; and, by imitating the Uſage of a Camp, give the Enemy a Suſpicion, that there was a Camp in thoſe Parts, and that Notice had been given of their Coming; and to do the ſame the*

faciant. Quibus imperatum erat diligenter præceptum curant. Antigonus tenebris obortis, ignes conſpicatur, credit de ſuo adventu eſſe auditum, & adverſarios illùc ſuas contraxiſſe copias. Mutat conſilium, &, quoniam imprudentes adoriri non poſſet, flectit iter ſuum, & illum anfractum longiorem copioſæ viæ capit: ibique diem unum opperitur ad laſſitudinem ſedandam militum, ac reficienda jumenta, quo integriore exercitu decerneret.

the following Night. They, to whom this Order was given, take Care to execute *their Order diligently. Antigonus, when the Darkneſs of* Night *began, ſees the Fires, believes that they had heard of his coming, and that the Enemies had drawn their Troops thither. He alters his Deſign, and, becauſe he could not ſet upon them unawares, he turns his March, and takes that longer Wind of a plentiful Rout: and there he ſtays one Day, to relieve the Wearineſs of his Soldiers, and refreſh the Horſes, that he might engage with his Army in good Condition.*

Cap. X. Hic Eumenes callidum imperatorem vicit conſilio, celeritatemque impedivit ejus; neque tamen multùm profecit; nam invidia ducum, cum quibus erat, perfidiàque militum Macedonum veteranorum, quum ſuperior prœlio diſceſſiſſet, Antigono eſt deditus, quum exercitus ei ter antè, ſeparatis temporibus, jurâſſet, ſe eum defenſurum, nec unquam deſerturum. Sed tanta fuit nonnullorum virtutis obtrectatio, ut fidem amittere mallent, quàm eum non prodere. Atque hunc Antigonus, quum ei fuiſſet infeſtiſſimus, conſervâſſet, ſi per ſuos eſſet licitum, quòd ab nullo ſe plùs adjuvari poſſe intelligebat in his rebus, quas impendere jam apparebat omnibus. Imminebant enim. Seleucus, Lyſimachus, Ptolemæus, opibus

Chap. X. *Here Eumenes prevailed againſt this crafty General by his Contrivance, and ſlackened his Speed: but yet he did not much Good; for through the Envy of the Generals with whom he was, and the Treachery of the Macedonian Veteran Soldiers, tho' he came off ſuperior in the Battle, he was delivered up to Antigonus, though the Army had ſworn thrice before, at ſeveral Times, that they would defend him, and never forſake him. But ſuch was ſome People's Endeavour to detract from his Worth, that they choſe rather to part with their Honour than not betray him. Antigonus too would have ſaved him, though he had been very bitter againſt him, if he could but have done it for his Friends, becauſe he was ſenſible he could be more aſſiſted by no body, in thoſe Things, which now it was apparent to all People were ready*

bus jam valentes, cum quibus ei de ſummis rebus erat dimicandum. Sed non paſſi ſunt ii, qui circa erant; quòd videbant, Eumene recepto, omnes præ illo parvi futuros. ipſe autem Antigonus adeò erat incenſus, ut niſi magnâ ſpe maximarum rerum leniri non poſſet.

to happen. For Seleucus, Lyſimachus, and Ptolomy, mighty in Strength, were coming upon him, with whom he would be obliged to engage for his All. But theſe that were about him did not ſuffer him; becauſe they ſaw, that if *Eumenes* was *entertained* by him, *they ſhould all be of ſmall Account in Compariſon with him. But Antigonus himſelf was ſo incenſed, that he could not be mollified, but by a great Expectation of the greateſt Advantages.*

CAP. XI. Itaque, quum cum in cuſtodiam dediſſet, & præfectus cuſtodiam quæſiſſet quemadmodum ſervari vellet: Ut acerrimum, inquit, leonem, aut ferociſſimum elephantum: Nondum enim ſtatuerat, cum conſervaret necne. Veniebat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum, & qui, propter odium, fructum oculis ex ejus caſu capere vellent; & qui propter veterem amicitiam, colloqui conſolarique cuperent. Multi etiam, qui ejus formam cognoſcere ſtudebant, qualis eſſet, quem tamdiu tamque valde timuiſſent, cujus in pernicie poſitam ſpem habuiſſent victoriæ. At Eumenes, quum diutiùs in vinculis eſſet, ait Onomarcho, penes quem ſumma imperii erat cuſtodia, *ſe mirari, quare jam tertiam diem ſic teneretur; non enim hoc convenire Antigoni prudentiæ, ut ſic ſe uteretur victo; quin aut interfici,*

CHAP. XI. *Wherefore, when he had put him under Confinement, and the Commander of the Guard had enquired how he would have him kept, he ſaid, as a moſt furious Lion, or a very fierce Elephant: For he had not yet determined whether he ſhould ſave him or no. Now both Sorts of People came to Eumenes, thoſe who, becauſe of their Hatred* of him *had a Mind to receive a Satisfaction by their own Eyes from his Fall; and thoſe who, becauſe of their old Friendſhip* for him, *deſired to ſpeak with him, and to comfort him: Many likewiſe, who were deſirous to know his Perſon,* and *what Sort of* Man *he was, whom they had feared ſo long, and ſo very much, in whoſe Deſtruction they had placed their Hopes of Victory. But Eumenes, after he had been long in Chains, ſays to Onomarchus, in whom the chief Command of the Guard was,* That he wondered why he was thus kept now the third Day; for this was not agreeable to the Prudence of Antigonus, thus to abuſe

interfici, aut miſſum fieri juberet. Hic quum ferociùs Onomarcho loqui videretur. *Quid tu,* inquit, *animo ſi iſto eras, cur non prælio cecidiſti potiùs quàm in poteſtatem inimici venires?* Huic Eumenes, *Utinam quidem iſtud eveniſſet,* inquit: *ſed eò non accidit, quòd nunquam cum fortiore ſum congreſſus: non enim cum quoquam arma contuli, quin is mihi ſuccubuerit: Non enim virtute hoſtium, ſed amicorum perfidiâ decidi.* Neque id falſum; nam & dignitate fuit honeſtâ & viribus ad laborem ferendum firmis, neque tam magno corpore, quàm figurâ venuſtâ.

abuſe him he had conquered that he ſhould order him either to be ſlain, or to be diſcharged. *As he ſeemed to Onomarchus to talk very boldly:* What, *ſays he,* if you were of that Mind, why did not you rather fall in Battle, than come into the Power of your Enemy? *To him Eumenes replied,* I wiſh that had befallen me indeed; but it therefore did not happen, becauſe I never engaged with a ſtouter *than myſelf*; for I did not fight with any one, but he fell under me: For I fell not by the Bravery of my Enemies, but by the Treachery of my Friends. *Nor was that falſe;* * *for he was a Man of genteel Gracefulneſs of Perſon, and of Strength ſufficient for the bearing of Fatigue, yet not of ſo large a Body, as a handſome Shape.*

CAP. XII. De hoc Antigonus quum ſolus conſtituere non auderet, ad concilium retulit. Hi, quum plerique omnes, animo perturbati, admirarentur, non jam de eo ſumptum eſſe ſupplicium, à quo tot annos adeo eſſent malè habiti, ut ſæpe ad deſperationem forent adducti, quique maximos duces interfeciſſet; denique in quo uno eſſet tantum, ut, quoad ille viveret,

CHAP. XII. *As Antigonus durſt not determine about him alone, he propoſed the Matter to a Council. Here, when almoſt all of them, much diſturbed in Mind, wondered he was not already puniſhed, by whom they had been ſo ill handled for ſo many Years, that they were often brought to Deſpair, and who had taken off the greateſt Generals; finally, in whom alone there was ſo much* Weight, *that ſo long as he*

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* This ſeems but an odd Kind of a Reaſon for his being too hard for all he fought with. Had he encountered Ladies with the like Succeſs, then indeed his *Dignitas Honeſta*, his *Venuſta Figura* might well be ſuppoſed to have ſtood him in a good Stead; but what they could ſignify againſt hard Bangs and cold Iron, I cannot imagine.

viveret, ipſi ſecuri eſſe non poſſent; interfecto, nihil habituri negotii eſſent: poſtremò, ſi illi redderet ſalutem, quærebant, quibus amicis eſſet uſurus? Seſe enim cum Eumene apud eum non futuros. Hic, cognità concilii voluntate, tamen uſque ad ſeptimum diem deliberandi ſibi ſpatium reliquit: Tum autem, quum vereretur, ne qua ſeditio exercitùs oriretur, vetuit ad eum quenquam admitti, & quotidianum victum amoveri juſſit: nam negabat ſe ei vim allaturum, qui aliquando fuiſſet amicus. Hic tamen non ampliùs quàm triduum fame fatigatus, cùm caſtra moverentur, inſciente Antigono, jugulatus eſt à cuſtodibus.

he lived, they could not be ſecure: If he was ſlain, they ſhould have no Difficulty: Finally, if he gave him his Life, they aſked him *what Friends he intended to make Uſe of; for they would not be with him, together with Eumenes. Having known the Mind of the Council, yet he left himſelf Time to conſider, till the ſeventh Day: But then, when he was* now *afraid, leſt any Mutiny of the Army ſhould ariſe* upon *it, he forbad any one to be admitted to him, and ordered his daily Food to be withdrawn; for he denied that he would offer Violence to him, who had once been his Friend. Yet he being tormented with Hunger no more than three Days, when the Camp was removed, was butchered by his Guards, Antigonus being ignorant* of the Matter.

CAP. XIII. Sic Eumenes, annorum quinque & quadraginta, quum ab anno vigeſimo (ut ſuprà oſtendimus) ſeptem annos Philippo apparuiſſet: & tredecim apud Alexandrum eundum locum obtinuiſſet; in his uni equitum alæ præfuiſſet; poſt autem Alexandri Magni mortem, imperator exercitus duxiſſet, ſummoſque duces partem repuliſſet, partim interfeciſſet; captus, non Antigoni virtute, ſed Macedonum perjurio, talem habuit exitum vitæ. De quo quanta fuerit omnium opinio eorum, qui poſt Alexandrum Magnum reges ſunt appellati,

CHAP. XIII. *Thus Eumenes, being five and forty Years old, after he had attended Philip* as his Secretary for *ſeven Years, from his twentieth Year, (as we have ſhewn above) and had held the ſame Places under Alexander thirteen; in which he commanded* only *one Wing of the Cavalry; but after Alexander's Death had led Armies as a General, and had partly defeated, and partly ſlain the greateſt Generals; being taken Priſoner, not by the good Conduct of Antigonus, but the Perjury of the Macedonians, had this End of his Life. Of whom how great the Opinion of all thoſe was, who were*

appellati, ex hoc facillimè poteſt judicari: Quòd nemo, Eumene vivo, rex appellatus eſt, ſed præfectus. Iidem, poſt hujus occaſum, ſtatim regium ornatum nomenque ſumſerunt; neque quod initio prædicârant, ſe Alexandri liberis regnum ſervare, id præſtare voluerunt: & uno propugnatore ſublato, quid ſentirent aperuerunt. Hujus ſceleris principes fuerunt Antigonus, Ptolemæus, Seleucus, Lyſimachus, Caſſander. Antigonus autem Eumenem, mortuum, propinquis ejus ſepeliendum tradidit. Hi militari honeſtoque funere, comitante toto exercitu, humaverunt; oſſaque ejus in Cappadociam ad matrem, atque uxorem, liberoſque ejus deportanda curârunt.

were called Kings after Alexander the Great, may be very eaſily judged from hence; that none, whilſt *Eumenes* was *alive, was named King, but Governor: The ſame, after his Fall, preſently took* upon them *the Regal Habit and Name* too: *Nor would they perform what, at firſt, they had given out, that they would keep the Kingdom for the Children of Alexander: And* this *their only Protector being taken off, they diſcovered what they intended. The Leaders in this Villainy were Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lyſimachus,* and *Caſſander. But Antigonus gave Eumenes,* when *dead, to his Relations to be buried. Theſe buried him with a military and a handſome Funeral, the whole Army attending; and took Care that his Bones were carried into Cappadocia to his Mother, Wife, and Children.*

XIX. *PHOCION,*

XIX.

PHOCION, Athenienſis.

CAP. I.

PHocion Athenienſis. Etſi ſæpe exercitibus præfuit, ſummoſque magiſtratus cepit; tamen multò ejus notior integritas eſt vitæ, quàm rei militaris labor: Itaque hujus memoria eſt nulla, illius autem magna fama; ex quo cognomine Bonus eſt appellatus. Fuit enim perpetuò pauper quum divitiſſimus eſſe poſſet propter frequentes delatos honores, poteſtateſque ſummas, quæ ei à populo debebantur. Hic quum à rege Philippo munera magnæ pecuniæ repudiaret, legatique hortarentur accipere, ſimulque admonerent, ſi ipſe his facilè careret, liberis tamen ſuis proſpiceret, quibus difficile eſſet, in ſumma paupertate, tantam paternam tueri gloriam: His ille, *Si mei ſimiles erunt, idem hic*, inquit, *agellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit; ſin diſſimiles ſunt futuri, nolo meis impenſis illorum ali augerique luxuriam.*

CAP.

XIX.

PHOCION, *the Athenian.*

CHAP. I.

PHocion the Athenian. Though he oftentimes commanded Armies and bore the greateſt Offices, yet the Integrity of his Life is much more noted than his Performance in military Affairs: Wherefore there is no Account of this, but the Fame of the other is *great; from whence he was called by Surname, The Good. For he was always poor, though he might have been very rich becauſe of the frequent Offices conferred* upon him, *and the great Poſts that were given him by the People. When he refuſed the Preſent of a great* Sum of *Money from King Philip, and the Ambaſſadors adviſed him to receive it, and at the ſame Time told him, that if he could eaſily want it, yet he ought to provide for his Children, for whom it would be difficult, in the utmoſt Poverty, to maintain the mighty Glory of their Father: To theſe he replied,* If they be like me, this ſame little Eſtate will maintain them, which has brought me to this Dignity: But if they ſhall prove unlike me, I would not have their Luxury maintained

CAP. II. Eidem quum prope ad annum octageſimum proſpera permanſiſſet fortuna, extremis temporibus magnum in odium pervenit ſuorum civium. Primò, cum Demade de urbe tradendà Antipatro conſenſerat: ejuſque conſilio Demoſthenes, cum cæteris qui bene de republicâ mereri exiſtimabantur, plebiſcito in exilium erant expulſi. Neque in eo ſolùm offenderat, quòd patriæ malè conſuluerat, ſed etiam quod amicitiæ fidem non præſtiterat: namque auctus adjutuſque à Demoſthene, eum, quem tenebat, aſcenderat gradum, quum adverſus Charetem eum ſubornaret; ab eodem in judiciis quum capitis cauſam diceret, defenſus aliquoties liberatus diſceſſerat: hunc non ſolùm in periculis non defendit, ſed etiam prodidit. Concidit autem maximè uno crimine: quia, quum apud eum ſummum eſſet imperium populi, & Nicanorem, Caſſandri præfectum, inſidiari Piræeo Athenienſium, à Dercyllo moneretur; idemque poſtularet, ut provideret, ne commeatibus civitas privaretur: hìc, audiente populo, Phocion negavit eſſe periculum, ſeque ejus rei obſidem fore pollicitus eſt; neque ita multò poſt Nicanor Piræeo

tained and increaſed at my Charge.

CHAP. II. *After Fortune had continued favourable to him, almoſt to his eightieth Year, at the latter End of his Time he fell under the great Hatred of his Countrymen. Firſt, he had agreed with Demades about delivering the City to Antipater: And by his Advice, Demoſthenes, with the reſt, who were thought to deſerve well of the Commonwealth, had been forced into Baniſhment, by a Decree of the People. Nor had he only offended in this, that he had adviſed ill for his Country, but likewiſe had not performed the faithful Part in Friendſhip: for, being ſupported and aſſiſted by Demoſthenes, he had mounted to that Height which he then held, when he ſuborned him againſt Chares; being defended by the ſame in* ſome *Trials, when he was tried for his Life, he had come off ſeveral Times ſafe: he not only did not defend him in his Dangers, but likewiſe betrayed him. But he fell chiefly by one Crime; becauſe when the ſupreme Government of the People was in him, and he was told by Dercyllus, that Nicanor, Coſſander's Governor, had a Deſign upon Pyræeus; and the ſame Man deſired, that he would take Care the City was not deprived of its Proviſions: Here,* in the *Hearing* of *the People, Phocion denied there was* any *Danger, and promiſed that he would be*

Security

eſt potitus: Ad quem recuperandum, ſine quo Athenæ omnino eſſe non poſſunt, quum populus armatus concurriſſet, ille non modo neminem ad arma vocavit, ſed ne armatis quidem præeſſe voluit.

Security for that Matter; and not long after Nicanor got Pyræeus: to recover which when the People ran together in Arms, without which Athens cannot be at all, he not only called out nobody to Arms, but would not ſo much as command thoſe that were armed.

CAP. III. Erat eo tempore Athenis duæ factiones: quarum una populi cauſam agebat, altera optimatum: In hâc erat Phocion & Demetrius Phalereus. Harum utraque Macedonum patrociniis nitebatur: nam populares Polyperchonti favebant; optimates cum Caſſandro ſentiebant. Interim, à Polyperchonte Caſſander Macedoniâ pulſus eſt. Quo facto, populus ſuperior factus, ſtatim duces adverſariæ factionis, capitis damnatos, patriâ populit: in his Phocionem & Demetrium Phalereum: deque eà re legatos ad Polyperchontem miſit, qui ab eo peterent, ut ſua decreta confirmaret. Huc eòdem profectus eſt Phocion: quò ut venit, cauſam apud Philippum regem verbo, re ipſa quidem apud Polyperchontem juſſus eſt dicere; namque is tum regis rebus præerat. Hic quum ab Agonide accuſatus eſſet quòd Piræum Nicanori prodidiſſet, ex conſilii ſententiâ in cuſtodiam conjectus, Athenas deductus eſt, ut ibi de

CHAP. III. *There were at that Time two Factions at Athens, one of which ſtood up for the Cauſe of the People; the other* that *of the Quality: In this was Phocion and Demetrius Phalereus. Each of theſe relied upon the Protection of the Macedonians: for the popular Party favoured Polyperchon; the Gentry ſided with Caſſander. In the mean Time, Caſſander was driven out of Macedonia by Polyperchon. Upon which, the People becoming ſuperior, immediately forced out of their Country the Heads of the oppoſite Party, condemned to* the Loſs *of Life; among theſe Phocion and Demetrius Phalereus; and ſent Ambaſſadors about that Matter to Polyperchon, to deſire of him that he would confirm their Decrees. To the ſame went Phocion; whither as ſoon as he was come, he was obliged to plead his Cauſe before King Philip in Pretence, but in Reality before Polyperchon; for he at that Time directed the King's Affairs. Being accuſed by Agonides for having betrayed Pyræeus to Nicanor, being put under Confinement by Order of the Council, he was carried to Athens,*

de eo legibus fieret judicium.

CAP. IV. Huc ubi perventum eſt, quum propter ætatem pedibus jam non valeret, vehiculoque portaretur, magni concurſus ſunt facti; quum alii, reminiſcentes veteris famæ, ætatis miſererentur; plurimi verò ita exacuerentur propter proditionis ſuſpicionem Piræei: maximèque, quòd adverſus populi commoda in ſenectute ſteterat. Quâ de re, ne perorandi quidem ei data eſt facultas, & dicendi cauſam. Inde judicio legitimis quibuſdam confectis, damnatus, traditus eſt Undecemviris; quibus ad ſupplicium, more Athenienſium, publicè damnati tradi ſolent. Hic quum ad mortem duceretur, obvius ei fuit Emphyletus, quo familiariter fuerat uſus: Is quum lacrymans dixiſſet, *O quam indigna perpeteris, Phocion!* huic ille, *At non inopinata*, inquit: *hunc enim exitum plerique clari viri habuerunt Athenienſes.* In hoc tantum fuit odium multitudinis, ut nemo auſus ſit eum liber ſepelire: Itaque à ſervis ſepultus eſt.

Athens, that he might have his Trial there according to Law.

CHAP. IV. *After he was come hither, being now lame of his Feet by Reaſon of his Age, and carried in a Chariot, great Crowds of People gathered about him; whilſt ſome, remembering his former Fame, pitied his Age; but very many were ſo exaſperated becauſe of the Suſpicion of his betraying Piræeus: but chiefly becauſe he had ſtood up againſt the Intereſt of the People in his old Age. Wherefore he had not, indeed, Leave given him to ſpeak for himſelf, and plead his Cauſe. Then ſome Formalities of Law being performed,* he was *condemned,* and *delivered to the Undecemviri, to whom, according to the Cuſtom of the Athenians, thoſe condemned for Offences againſt the State uſed to be delivered. When he was led to Execution, Emphyletus met him, whom he had been very kind with: When he ſaid, weeping,* O! what unworthy Things do you ſuffer, Phocion! *To him he replies,* But not unexpected; for moſt of the famous Men of Athens have had this End. *So great was the Hatred of the People againſt him, that no Freeman durſt bury him: Wherefore he was buried by his Slaves.*

XX.

TIMOLEON, Corinthius.

CAP. I.

TImoleon Corinthius. Sine dubio magnus omnium judicio hic vir extitit: Namque huic uni centigit, quod neſcio an ulli, ut patriam, in quâ erat natus, oppreſſam à tyranno, liberaret; & à Syracuſis, quibus auxilio erat miſſus, inveteratam ſervitutem depelleret; totamque Siciliam multos annos bello vexatam, à barbariſque oppreſſam, ſuo adventu in priſtinum ſtatum reſtitueret. Sed in his rebus non ſimplici fortunâ conflictatus eſt; &, id quod difficiliùs putatur, multo ſapientiùs tulit ſecundam quàm adverſam fortunam: nam quum frater ejus Timophanes, dux à Corinthiis delectus, tyrannidem per milites mercenarios occupâſſet, particepſque regni poſſet eſſe, tantùm abfuit à ſocietate ſceleris, ut antetulerit ſuorum civium libertatem fratris ſaluti, & patriæ legibus obtemperare ſanctius duxerit, quàm imperare patriæ

XX.

TIMOLEON, the Corinthian.

CHAP. I.

TImoleon the Corinthian. Without doubt he was a great Man in the Judgment of every Body: For that happened to him alone, which I know not whether ever it happened to any other, that he both delivered his Country, in which he was born, oppreſſed by a Tyrant, and removed an inveterate Slavery from Syracuſe, to the Aſſiſtance of which he was ſent; and reſtored by his coming to its former State all Sicily, that had been *harraſſed with War many Years, and oppreſſed by Barbarians. But in theſe Things he ſtruggled not with one* Sort of *Fortune* only. *And, that which is thought much the more difficult, he bore his good Fortune much better than his ill* Fortune: *For when his Brother Timophanes, being choſen General by the Corinthians, had ſeized the Government, by* the Means of *the foreign Soldiers in the Corinthian Pay, and he might have been a Partner with him in his Kingdom; he was ſo far from a Sharer in the Villainy, that he preferred the Liberty of his Countrymen*

triæ. Hâc mente per aruſpicem communemque affinem, cui ſoror ex iiſdem parentibus nata, nupta erat, fratrem tyrannum interficiendum curavit. Ipſe non modò manus non attulit, ſed ne aſpicere quidem fraternum ſanguinem voluit. Nam dum res conficeretur, procul in præſidio fuit, ne quis ſatelles poſſet ſuccurrere. Hoc præ clariſſimum ejus facinus non pari modo probatum eſt ab omnibus: nonnulli enim læſam ab eo pietatem putabant, & invidiâ laudem virtutis obterebant. Mater verò, poſt id factum, neque domum ad ſe filium admiſit, neque aſpexit; quin eum fratricidam impiumque deteſtans compellaret. Quibus rebus adeò eſt commotus, ut nonnunquam vitæ finem facere voluerit, atque ex ingratorum hominum conſpectu morte decedere.

men before his Brother's Life, and thought it better to obey the Laws of his Country, than to rule over his Country. With this Mind he took Care to have his Brother the Uſurper ſlain by a Soothſayer, and their common Relation, to whom their Siſter, born of the ſame Parents, was married. He not only did not put a Hand to the Work, *but he would not indeed ſee his Brother's Blood. For whilſt the Thing was doing, he was at a Diſtance upon the Watch, leſt any Life-guard-Man ſhould ſuccour him. This moſt noble Action of his was not approved of in the like Manner by all: For ſome thought natural Affection had been violated by him, and out of Envy endeavoured to leſſen the Praiſe of his Virtue. But his Mother, after that Fact, did neither permit her Son to come home to her, nor would look at him; but curſing him, called him the Murderer of his Brother, and a wicked Villain. With which Things he was ſo much moved, that ſometimes he had a Mind to put an End to his Life, and to withdraw by Death out of the Sight of ungrateful Men.*

Cap. II. Interim Dione Syracuſis interfecto, Dionyſius rurſus Syracuſarum potitus eſt. Cujus adverſarii opem à Corinthiis petiverunt, ducemque, quo in bello uterentur, poſtulârunt. Huc Timoleon miſſus, incredibili felicitate Dionyſium totâ Siciliâ depulit. Quum interficere poſſet, noluit, tutòque

Chap. II. *In the mean Time Dion being ſlain at Syracuſe Dionyſius again got Syracuſe; whoſe Enemies begged Aſſiſtance of the Corinthians, and deſired a General whom they might make Uſe of in the War: Timoleon being ſent hither, drove Dionyſius out of all Sicily, with incredible good Fortune:* And *when he might have killed him, would not, and took*

que ut Corinthum perveniret, efficit, quòd utrorumque Dionyſiorum opibus Corinthii ſæpe adjuti fuerant; cujus benignitatis memoriam volebat extare; eamque præclaram victoriam ducebat, in quâ plus eſſet clementiæ quàm crudelitatis. Poſtremo, ut non ſolùm auribus acciperetur, ſed etiam oculis cerneretur, quem, & ex quanto regno ad quam fortunam detruſiſſet: poſt Dioniſii deceſſum, cum Icetâ bellavit, qui adverſatus fuerat Dionyſio; quem non odio tyrannidis diſſenſiſſe, ſed cupiditate, indicio fuit, quòd ipſe, expulſo Dionyſio, imperium demittere noluit. Hoc ſuperato, Timoleon maximas copias Carthaginienſium apud Crimiſſum flumen fugavit, ac ſatis habere coëgit, ſi liceret Africam obtinere, qui jam complures annos poſſeſſionem Siciliæ tenebant. Cepit etiam Mamercum, Italicum ducem, hominem bellicoſum & potentem, qui tyrannos adjutum in Siciliam venerat.

Care that he ſhould come ſafe to Corinth, becauſe the Corinthians had been often aſſiſted by the Power of both the Dionyſiuſes; the Memory of which Kindneſs he had a Mind ſhould continue; and he reckoned that a noble Victory, in which there was more of Clemency than of Cruelty. Finally, that it might not only be heard by the Ears, but ſeen by the Eyes, whom and from how great a Kingdom, to what a Fortune he had reduced; after the Departure of Dionyſius, he made War with Icetas, who had oppoſed Dionyſius; who did not contend with him, out of Hatred of his Tyranny, but out of a Deſire of it; as this was a Proof, that he, after *Dionyſius* was *forced away, would not quit his Power. He being conquered, Timoleon overthrew a great Army of the Carthaginians, at the River Crimeſſus, and forced them to be content, if they could* but *keep Africa, who had now kept Poſſeſſion of Sicily for ſeveral Years. He likewiſe took Mamercus, an Italian General, a warlike and a powerful Man, who had come into Sicily to help the Tyrants.*

CAP. III. Quibus rebus confectis, quum propter diuturnitatem belli non ſolùm regiones, ſed etiam urbes deſertas videret; conquiſivit quos potuit, primùm Siculos, deinde Corintho arceſſivit colonos, quòd ab his initio Syracuſæ erant conditæ.

CHAP. III. *Which Things being done, when he ſaw not only the Country but the Cities likewiſe forſaken, by Reaſon of the long Continuance of the War; he ſought out firſt* all *the Sicilians which he could, and then ſent for Planters from Corinth, becauſe Syracuſe had been built at firſt by them. He reſtored*

ditæ. Civibus veteribus ſua reſtituit, novis bello vacuefactas poſſeſſiones diviſit; urbium mœnia diſjecta, fanaque deleta refecit; civitatibus leges libertatemque reddidit; ex maximo bello tantum otium toti inſulæ conciliavit, ut his conditor urbium earum, non illi qui initio deduxerant, videretur. Arcem Syracuſis, quam muniverat Dionyſius, ad urbem obſidendam, a fundamentis diſjecit; cætera tyrannidis propugnacula demolitus eſt, deditque operam, ut quàm minimè multa veſtigia ſervitutis manerent. Quum tantis eſſet opibus, ut etiam invitis imperare poſſet, tantum autem haberet amorem omnium Siculorum, ut nullo recuſante regnum obtineret; maluit ſe diligi, quàm metui. Itaque, quum primùm potuit, imperium depoſuit, & privatis Syracuſis quod reliquum vitæ fuit, vixit. Neque verò id imperitè fecit; nam quod cæteri reges imperio vix potuerunt, hic benevolentiâ tenuit. Nullus honos huic defuit; neque poſtea Syracuſis res ulla geſta eſt publica, de quâ priùs ſit decretum, quàm Timoleontis ſententia cognita. Nullius unquam conſilium non modò antelatum, ſe ne comparatum quidem eſt: neque id magis benevolentiâ factum eſt, quàm prudentiâ.

reſtored to the old inhabitants their own, and divided the Poſſeſſions that were *made void* of Owners *by the War, to the new ones; he repaired the Walls of Cities* that had been *thrown down, and Temples* that had been *deſtroyed; he reſtored to the Cities their Laws and Liberty, and procured ſo much Quiet to the whole Iſland after a very great War, that he ſeemed to be the Founder of the Cities, and not thoſe who at firſt had brought* the Colonies thither. *He demoliſhed to the Foundations the Citadel at Syracuſe, which Dionyſius had built to awe the City; he pulled down the other Bulwarks of the Tyranny, and did his Endeavour that as few Marks as poſſible of* the former *Servitude ſhould remain. Though he was in ſo great Power, that he might have ruled over them,* tho' *againſt their Wills, and had ſo much the Love of all the Sicilians, that he might have had the Sovereignty, no body refuſing* him, *he choſe rather to be beloved than feared. Therefore, as ſoon as he could, he laid down his Commiſſion, and lived a private Perſon at Syracuſe the remaining Part of his Life. Nor did he do that weakly; for what other Kings could ſcarcely do by their Power, he carried by the good Will* of the People: *He wanted no Honour; nor was any publick Thing done after at Syracuſe, concerning which a Decree was made, before the Opinion of Timoleon* was *known. Not only no Man's Counſel was ever preferred before* his, *but not indeed compared with it:*

CAP.

Nor

CAP. IV. Hic quum ætate jam provectâ esset, sine ullo morbo lumina oculorum amisit: quam calamitatem ita moderatè tulit, ut neque eum querentem quisquam audierit, neque eo minùs privatis publicisque rebus interfuit: veniebat autem in theatrum, quum ibi concilium populi haberetur, propter valetudinem vectus jumentis junctis, atque ita de vehiculo, quæ videbantur, dicebat. Neque hoc illi quisquam tribuebat superbiæ; nihil enim unquam neque insolens, neque glorioſum ex ore ejus exiit: qui quidem, quum suas laudes audiret prædicari, numquam aliud dixit, quàm se in eâ re maximas diis gratias agere atque habere, quod quum Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum se potissimùm ducem esse voluisset. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum numine agi putabat. Itaque suæ domi sacellum αὐτοματίας constituerat, idque sanctissimè colebat. Ad hanc hominis excellentem bonitatem mirabiles accesserunt casus: nam prælia maxima natali die suo fecit omnia; quo factum est, ut ejusdem natalem festum haberet universa Sicilia. Huic quidam Lamestius, homo petulans & ingratus, vadimonium quum vellet imponere, quòd cum illo

Nor was that occasioned more by their good Will for him, *than his Prudence.*

CHAP. IV. *When he was advanced in Age, he loſt the Sight of his Eyes without any Diſtemper* to occaſion it; *which Misfortune he bore ſo meekly, that neither any one heard him complain, neither was he leſs engaged in private and public Buſineſs: But he came into the Theatre, when* any *Aſſembly of the People was held there, riding in a Chariot becauſe of his Blindneſs, and ſo ſpoke from the Chariot what ſeemed proper. Nor did any one impute this to his Pride; for nothing ever, either inſolent or boaſting, came out of his Mouth: Who truly, when he heard his own Praiſes celebrated, never ſaid any Thing elſe, than that in that Caſe he gave very great Thanks to the* immortal *Gods, that ſince they had reſolved to put Sicily again into a good Condition, they had thought fit, that he, above all others, ſhould be the Conductor* of that Affair. *For he thought that nothing of human Affairs was tranſacted without the Providence of the Gods. Wherefore he had built a Temple of Fortune in his own Houſe, and frequented it moſt religiouſly. To this excellent Goodneſs of the Man, wonderful Accidents were ſuperadded: For he fought all his greateſt Battles upon his Birth-Day; whereby it came to paſs that all Sicily kept his Birth-Day as a Feſtival. When one Lameſtius, a ſaucy ungrateful Fellow, would needs*

illo ſe lege agere diceret; & complures concurriſſent, qui procacitatem hominis manibus coërcere conarentur, Timoleon oravit omnes, ne id facerent; namque, id ut Lameſtio cæteriſque liceret, ſe maximos labores ſummaque adiiſſe pericula: hanc enim ſpeciem libertatis eſſe, ſi omnibus, quod quiſque vellet, legibus experiri liceret. Idem, quum quidam Lameſtii ſimilis, nomine Demænetus, in concione populi, de rebus geſtis ejus detrahere cœpiſſet, ac nonnulla inveheretur in Timoleonta; dixit, Nunc, demum ſe voti eſſe damnatum; namque hoc à diis immortalibus ſemper precatum, ut talem libertatem reſtituerent Syracuſanis, in quâ cuivis liceret, de quo vellet, impunè diceret. Hic quum diem ſupremum obiiſſet, publicè à Syracuſanis in gymnaſio, quòd Timoleonteum appellatur, totâ celebrante Siciliâ, ſepultus eſt.

needs put Bail upon him, becauſe he ſaid he would go to Law with him, and ſeveral People gathered about him, who endeavoured to correct the Saucineſs of the Fellow by Blows, Timoleon begged of them all, that they would not do it; for that he had undergone the greateſt Fatigues and Hazards, that that might be lawful for Lameſtius and others; for this was a viſible *Appearance of Freedom, if it was allowed all People to try at Law what every one pleaſed. The ſame Man, when one like Lameſtius, by Name Demænetus, had begun to detract from his Actions in an Aſſembly of the People, and inveighed ſomewhat againſt Timoleon; he ſaid, That now he had his Wiſh; for he had always begged this of the immortal Gods, that they would reſtore ſuch Freedom to the Syracuſans, in which it might be allowed any one to ſpeak his* Mind *with Impunity of whom he would. When he died, he was buried at the publick Expence by the Syracuſans, in the Gymnaſium, which is called Timoleonteum, all Sicily celebrating* his Funeral.



XXI.

De REGIBUS.

CAP. I.

HI ferè fuerunt Græciæ gentis duces, qui memoriâ digni videantur, præter reges: namque eos attingere noluimus, quòd omnium res geſtæ ſeparatim ſunt relatæ: neque tamen hi admodum ſunt multi. Lacedemonius autem Ageſilaus nomine, non poteſtate, fuit rex, ſicut cæteri Spartani. Ex his verò, qui dominatum imperio tenuerunt excellentiſſimi fuerunt, (ut nos judicamus) Perſarum Cyrus, & Darius Hyſtapſis filius: quorum uterque privatus virtute regnum eſt adeptus. Prior horum apud Maſſagetas in prælio cecidit: Darius ſenectute diem obiit ſupremum. Tres ſunt præterea ejuſdem generis, Xerxes, & duo Artaxerxes, Macrochir & Mnemon. Xerxi maximè eſt illuſtre, quòd maximis poſt hominum memoriam exercitibus terrâ marique bellum intulit Græciæ. At

XXI.

Of the KINGS.

CHAP. I.

THeſe were nearly all *the Generals of Greece, that ſeem worthy of Remembrance, beſides the Kings; for we would not meddle with them, becauſe the Actions of* them *all are ſeparately related; neither yet are theſe very many. But the Lacedemonian Ageſilaus was a King in Name, not in Power, as the reſt of the Spartan Kings. But of thoſe who held the Government with an abſolute Sway, the moſt excellent were (as we judge) Cyrus* King *of the Perſians, and Darius the Son of Hyſtaſpes; both of which, being private Perſons, got the Kingdom by their good Behaviour. The former of theſe fell in Battle amongſt the Maſſagetæ. Darius died in old Age. There are three beſides of the ſame Nation, Xerxes, and the two Artaxerxes, Macrochir, and Mnemon. The moſt illuſtrious Thing of Xerxes is, that he made War upon Greece by Land and Sea, with the greateſt Armies* that have been known *ſince* we have had *any Hiſtory of Mankind,*

At Macrochir præcipuam habet laudem ampliſſimæ pulcherrimæque corporis formæ: quam incredibili ornavit virtute belli; namque illo Perſarum nemo fuit manu fortior. Mnemon autem juſtitiæ famâ floruit. Nam quum matris ſuæ ſcelere amiſiſſet uxorem tantùm indulſit dolori ut eum pietas vinceret. Ex his, duo eodum nomine morbo naturæ debitum reddiderunt: Tertius ab Artabano præfecto ferro interfectus eſt.

Mankind. But Macrochir has a mighty Commendation in Story, *for the large and moſt comely Make of his Perſon, which he adorned with an incredible Bravery and Conduct in War; for none of the Perſons were more ſtout in Action than he. But Mnemon flouriſhed in Reputation for Juſtice. For after he had loſt his Wife by the wicked Contrivance of his Mother, he ſo far indulged his Sorrow, that his Duty to his Mother overcame it. Of theſe the Two of the ſame Name paid their Debt to Nature by a Diſeaſe: The Third was ſlain with the Sword by Artabanus, a Governor* of his.

Cap. II. Ex Macedonum autem genere, duo multò cæteros anteceſſerunt rerum geſtarum gloriâ; Philippus Amyntæ filius, & Alexander Magnus. Horum alter Babylone morbo conſumptus eſt: Philippus Ægis à Pauſaniâ, quum ſpectatum ludos iret juxta theatrum occiſus eſt. Unus Epirotes, Pyrrhus, qui cum populo Romano bellavit. Is quum Argo oppidum oppugnaret in Peloponneſo, lapide ictus interiit. Unus item Siculus, Dionyſius prior: nam & manu fortis & belli peritus fuit: &, id quod in tyranno non facilè reperitur, minimè libidinoſus, non luxurioſus, non avarus, nullius rei denique cupidus, niſi ſingularis perpetuique imperii, ob eamque rem crudelis:

Chap. II. *But, of the Nation of the Macedonians, Two much excelled the reſt in the Glory of their Exploits; Philip the Son of Amyntas, and Alexander the Great. One of theſe was taken off by a Diſtemper at Babylon; Philip was ſlain at Egæ by Pauſanias, as he was going to ſee the* publick *Games nigh the Theatre.* There was *one of Epire, Pyrrhus, who made War with the Roman People. He died of a Stroke with a Stone, when he was attacking the Town of Argos in Peloponneſus.* There was *one likewiſe of Sicily, Dionyſius the Firſt; for he was both brave in Action, and ſkilful in War; and, what is not eaſily found in a Tyrant, he was not at all luſtful, not luxurious, not covetuous, finally, very deſirous of nothing but of arbitrary*

crudelis? Nam dum id ſtuduit munire, nullius pepercit vitæ quem ejus inſidiatorem putaret. Hic, quum virtute tyrannidem ſibi peperiſſet, magnâ retinuit felicitate, majorque annos ſexaginta natus, deceſſit florente regno: neque, in tam multis annis, cujuſquam ex ſuâ ſtirpe funus vidit, quum ex tribus uxoribus liberos procreâſſet, multique ei nati eſſent nepotes.

Power and for Life, and for that Reaſon cruel: For whilſt he endeavoured to ſecure that, he ſpared no Man's Life, whom he thought to be in a Plot againſt it. He, after he had got the Government by his able Management, kept it with great good Fortune; and died above ſixty Years of Age, in a flouriſhing Kingdom: nor, in ſo many Years, did he ſee the Funeral of any of his Iſſue, tho' he had Children by three Wives, and had many Grandſons born to him.

CAP. III. Fuerunt præterea multi reges ex amicis Alexandri Magni, qui, poſt obitum ejus, imperia ceperunt: In his, Antigonus, & hujus filius Demetrius, Lyſimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemæus. Ex his Antigonus, quum adverſus Seleucum Lyſimachumque dimicaret, in prælio occiſus eſt. Pari letho affectus eſt Lyſimachus à Seleuco: nam ſocietate diſſolutâ, bellum inter ſe geſſerunt. At Demetrius, quum filiam ſuam Seleuco in matrimonium dediſſet, neque eò magis fida inter eos amicitia manere potuiſſet, captus bello, in cuſtodiâ ſocer generi periit morbo: neque ita multo poſt, Seleucus à Ptolemæo Cerauno dolo interfectus eſt; quem, ille, â patre expulſum Alexandriâ alienarum opum indigentem, receperat. Ipſe autem Ptolemæus, quum, vivus, filio regnum tradidiſſet, ab

CHAP. III. *There were beſides many Kings of the Friends of Alexander the Great, who, after his Death, ſeized the Government: Amongſt theſe, Antigonus and his Son Demetrius, Lyſimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy. Of theſe, Antigonus was ſlain in a Battle, when he fought againſt Seleucus and Lyſimachus. Lyſimachus was taken off with the like Death, by Seleucus: For, upon a Breach of the Alliance they carried on a War together. But Demetrius, after he had given his Daughter to Seleucus in Marriage, and the Alliance betwixt them was never the more faithfully obſerved for that; the Father-in-law, being taken in War, died in Cuſtody of his Son-in-law; and not long after, Seleucus was treacherouſly ſlain by Ptolemy Ceraunus; whom, when driven by his own Father out of Alexandria, and in need of others Relief, he had entertained. But Ptolemy having delivered,*

ab illo eodem vitâ privatus dicitur. De quibus quoniam satis dictum putamus, non incommodum videtur, non præterire Hamilcarem & Hannibalem; quos & animi magnitudine, & calliditate, omnes in Africa natos præstitisse constat.

livered, whilst *living*, *his Kingdom to his Son*, *is said to have been deprived of his Life by that same* Son. *Concerning whom because we think enough has been said*, *it does not seem improper*, *not to pass by Hamilcar and Hannibal*; *who*, *it is certain*, *did excel all that were born in Africa*, *both in Greatness of Mind*, *and Subtilty*.

XXII.

HAMILCAR.

CAP. I.

HAmilcar, Hannibalis filius, cognomine Barchas, Carthaginienſis, primo Punico bello, ſed temporibus extremis, admodum adoleſcentulus, in Siciliâ præeſſe cœpit exercitui. Quum ante ejus adventum, & mari & terrâ malè res gererentur Carthaginienſium; ipſe ubi affuit, nunquam hoſti ceſſit, neque locum nocendi dedit; ſæpèque, è contrario, hoſtem occaſione datâ laceſſivit, ſemperque ſuperior diſceſſit. Quo facto quum penè omnia in Siciliâ Pœni amiſiſſent, ille Erycem ſic defendit, ut bellum eo loco geſtum non videretur. Interim, Carthaginienſes claſſe apud inſulas Ægates à C. Luctatio Conſule Romanorum ſuperati, ſtatuerunt belli finem facere, eamque rem arbitrio permiſerunt Hamilcaris. Ille etſi flagrabat belli cupiditate, tamen paci ſerviendum putavit, quòd patriam exhauſtam ſumptibus, diutiùs calamitatem belli ferre non poſſe intelligebat; ſed ita ut ſtatim

XXII.

HAMILCAR.

CHAP. I.

HAmilcar, the Son of Hannibal, by Surname Barchas, the Carthaginian, began, when very young, to command an Army in Sicily, in the firſt Carthaginian War, but about the latter End of it. *And whereas, before his coming there, the Affairs of the Carthaginians were ill managed, both by Sea and by Land; when he came there, he never flinched before the Enemy, nor gave them* any *Opportunity of hurting him; and oftentimes, on the contrary,* when *an Opportunity offered, he attacked the Enemy, and always came off ſuperior. Upon which, tho' the Carthaginians had almoſt loſt all in Sicily, he ſo defended Eryx, that the War did not ſeem to have been carried on at all in that Place. In the mean Time, the Carthaginians being routed by Sea, at the Iſlands called Ægates, by Caius Luctatius, the Conſul of the Romans, reſolved to make an End of the War, and left that Matter to the Diſcretion of Hamilcar. He, altho' he burnt with Deſire of* carrying on the *War, yet thought it neceſſary*

ſtatim mente agitaret, ſi paululo modo res eſſent refectæ, bellum renovare, Romanoſque armis perſequi, donec aut virtute viciſſent, aut victi manum dediſſent. Hoc conſilio pacem conciliavit; in quâ tanta fuit ferocia, ut quum Catullus negaret ſe bellum compoſiturum, niſi ille cum ſuis qui Erycem tenuerant, armis relictis Sicilia decederent; ſuccumbente patriâ, ipſe perituram ſe potiùs dixerit, quàm cum tanto flagitio domum rediret; non enim ſuæ eſſe virtutis, arma à patriâ accepta adverſus hoſtes, adverſariis tradere. Hujus pertinaciæ ceſſit Catullus.

ſary to endeavour after Peace, becauſe he was ſenſible, that his Country, being exhauſted by the Charges of the War, was not able to bear the Diſtreſs of it *any longer; but ſo, that he immediate propoſed in his Mind, if their Affairs ſhould be but a little recruited, to renew the War, and to fall upon the Romans with Arms, till either they conquered by their Valour, or, being conquered, gave up the Cauſe. With this Deſign he made a Peace, in which ſo great was his Reſolution, that when Catullus denied that he would agree upon ending the War, unleſs he with his Men, that held Eryx, quitting their Arms, left Sicily*; tho' *his Country was ſinking, he ſaid, he would periſh rather than return Home, with ſo great a Scandal*; *for it was not ſuitable* to his *Conduct, to deliver up his Arms, received from his Country againſt its Enemies, to his Adverſaries. Catullus yielded to his Reſolution.*

Cap. II. At ille, ut Carthaginem venit, multo aliter, ac ſperabat, rempublicam ſe habentem cognovit. Namque diuturnitate externi mali tantum exarſit inteſtinum bellum, ut nunquam pati in periculo fuerit Carthago, niſi quum deleta eſt. Primò, mercenarii milites, qui adverſus Romanos fuerunt, deſciverunt, quorum numerus erat viginti millium: Hi totam abalienârunt Africam, ipſam Carthaginem oppugnârunt. Quibus

Chap. II. *But he, as ſoon as he came to Carthage, found the Commonwealth to be quite otherwiſe than he expected. For ſo great a Civil War had broken out,* occaſioned *by the long Continuance of the Foreign War, that Carthage was never in the like Danger, but when it was deſtroyed. Firſt* of all, *the Foreign Soldiers in their Pay, who had been* employed *againſt the Romans, revolted, whoſe Number was twenty Thouſand: Theſe drew along with them all Africa,*

and

Quibus malis adeò ſunt Pœni perterriti, ut auxilia etiam à Romanis petiverint, eaque impetrârint. Sed extremò, quum propè jam ad deſperationem perveniſſent, Hamilcarem imperatorem fecerunt: Is non ſolùm hoſtes à muris Carthaginis removit, quum ampliùs centum millia facta eſſent armatorum: ſed etiam eò compulit, ut locorum anguſtiis clauſi, plures fame, quàm ferro, interirent. Omnia oppida abalienata, in his Uticam atque Hipponem, valentiſſima totius Africæ, reſtituit patriæ. Neque eo fuit contentus, ſed etiam fines imperii propagavit; totâ Africâ tantum otium reddidit, ut nullum in eâ bellum videretur multis annis fuiſſe.

and attacked Carthage itſelf. With which Misfortune the Carthaginians were ſo terrified, that they begged Aſſiſtance even from the Romans, and obtained it: But at laſt, when they were come now almoſt to Deſpair, they made Hamilcar their General: He not only drove the Enemies from the Walls of Carthage, though they were become above an hundred thouſand armed Men; but likewiſe reduced them to that, that being incloſed within a narrow Place, more of them died to Famine than by the Sword. He reſtored all the revolted Towns, and amongſt theſe Utica and Hippo, the ſtrongeſt of all Africa, to his Country. Nor was he content with that, but he likewiſe extended the Bounds of their Empire; and reſtored ſuch a Peace throughout all Africa, that there ſeemed not to have been any War in it for many Years.

CAP. III. Rebus his ex ſententiâ peractis, fidenti animo, atque infeſto Romanis, quò faciliùs cauſam bellandi reperiret, effecit, ut imperator cum exercitu in Hiſpaniam mitteretur; eòque ſecum duxit filium Hannibalem, annorum novem. Erat præterea cum eo adoleſcens illuſtris & formoſus, Haſdrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpiùs, quam par erat, ab Hamilcare loquebantur; non enim maledici tanto viro deeſſe poterant. Quò factum eſt, ut à præfecto morum Haſdrubal

CHAP. III. *Theſe Things being performed according to his Wiſh, with a Mind full of Expectations, and incenſed againſt the Romans, that he might the more eaſily find out a Pretence for making War, he contrived to be ſent General with an Army into Spain; and thither he carried along with him his Son Hannibal, nine years* old. *There was beſides with him an illuſtrious and beautiful Youth, Haſdrubal, who, ſome ſaid, was beloved more ſcandalouſly than was fitting, by Hamilcar: for Backbiters could not be wanting to ſo great a Man; from whence it*

bal cum eo vetaretur esse. Huic ille filiam suam in matrimonium dedit, quòd moribus eorum non poterat interdici socero gener. De hoc ideo mentionem fecimus, quod, Hamilcare occiso, ille exercitui præfuit, resque magnas gessit: & princeps largitione vetustos pervertit mores Carthaginensium; ejusdemque post mortem, Hannibal ab exercitu accepit imperium. At Hamilcar, postea quam mare transiit, in Hispaniamque venit, magnas res secundâ gessit fortunâ: maximas bellicosissimasque gentes subegit: equis, armis, viris, pecuniâ, totam locupletavit Africam. Hic quum in Italiam bellum inferre meditaretur, nono anno postquam in Hispaniam venerat, in prælio pugnans adversus Vettones occisus est. Hujus perpetuum odium erga Romanos maximè concitâsse videtur secundum bellum Punicum: namque Hannibal, filius ejus, assiduis patris obtestationibus eò est perductus, ut interiri, quàm non Romanos experiri mallet.

it was, that Hasdrubal was forbid to be with him, by the Overseer of the Publick *Manners. He gave him his Daughter in Marriage, because according to their Fashions, a Son-in-law could not be discharged* the Company of *his Father-in-law. We have therefore made mention of him, because, when Hamilcar was slain, he commanded the Army, and performed great Things: And first* of all *corrupted the ancient Manners of the Carthaginians, by his distributing Money* to the Troops: *and after his Death, Hannibal received the Command from the Army. But Hamilcar, after he passed the Sea and was come into Spain, performed great Things with great Success: He subdued very great and most warlike Nations: He enriched all Africa with Horses, Arms, Men,* and *Money. Whilst he was intending to carry the War into Italy, he was slain fighting in a Battle against the Vettones, in the ninth Year after he came into Spain. His constant Hatred of the Romans seems chiefly to have raised the second Carthaginian War: For Hannibal his Son was brought to that by the perpetual Instances of his Father, that he chose rather to perish than not to make Trial of the Romans.*

XXIII.

HANNIBAL.

CAP. I.

HAnnibal, Hamilcaris filius, Carthaginienſis. Si verum eſt, quod nemo dubitat, ut populus Romanus omnes gentes virtute ſuperâvit, non eſt inficiandum, Hannibalem tanto præſtitiſſe ceteros imperatores prudentiâ, quantò populus Romanus antecedat fortitudine cunctas nationes: Nam quotieſcunque cum eo congreſſus eſt in Italia, ſemper diſceſſit ſuperior. Quòd niſi domi civium ſuorum invidiâ debilitatus eſſet, Romanos videtur ſuperare potuiſſe. Sed multorum obtrectatio devicit unius virtutem. Hic autem, velut hæreditate relictum, odium paternum, erga Romanos ſic con-

XXIII.

HANNIBAL.

CHAP. I.

*Annibal, the Son of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian. If it be true, which nobody doubts, * that the Roman People have excelled all Nations in Bravery and Conduct, it is not to be denied, that Hannibal as much exceeded other Commanders in Prudence, as the Roman People exceed all Nations in Valour. For as oft as he engaged with them in Italy, he always came off ſuperior. And unleſs he had been weakened by the Envy of his Countrymen at Home, he ſeems to have been capable of conquering the Romans. But the Detraction of many prevailed againſt the great Abilities of one. He ſo firmly fixed in his* Mind *his Father's Hatred of the Romans, left him, as it were, by Inheri-*

* Our Author has here expreſſed himſelf after a very unuſual Manner, if the Reading be good, When a Sentence, that is a poſitive Affirmation or Negation, is the Subject or Object of a Verb, *i. e.* anſwers the Queſtion, What? before or after it, the Accuſative Caſe and Infinitive Mood are commouly uſed; but ſometimes, though very rarely, *quod* with the Nominative, and Indicative, or Subjunctive. There are ſome of Opinion, that *quod* and *ut* have in this Period changed Places, and that we ought to read thus: *Si verum eſt, ut nemo dubitat quod.*

† I wonder our Author ſhould affirm a Thing ſo notoriouſly falſe, as is plain from all other Accounts. See *Livy* and *Plutarch.*

confirmavit ut priùs animam, quàm id depoſuerit: qui quidem quum patriâ pulſus eſſet, & alienarum opum indigeret, nunquam deſtiteret animo bellare cum Romanis.

Inheritance, that he laid down his Life before that: Who, even when he was baniſhed his Country, and ſtood in need of other People's Relief, never ceaſed in his Mind to make War with the Romans.

CAP. II. Nam, ut omittam Philippum, quem abſens hoſtem reddidit Romanis; omnium his temporibus potentiſſimus rex Antiochus fuit. Hunc tantâ cupiditate incendit bellandi, ut uſque à rubro mari arma conatus ſit inferre Italiæ: Ad quem quum legati veniſſent Romani, qui de ejus voluntate explorarent, darentque operam conſiliis clandeſtinis, ut Hannibalem in ſuſpicionem regi adducerent, tanquam, ab ipſis corruptum alia atque antea ſentiret; neque id fruſtra feciſſent: idque Hannibal comperiſſet, ſeque ab interioribus conſiliis ſegregari vidiſſet: tempore dato, adiit ad regem, atq; quum multa de fide ſuâ, & odio in Romanos commemorâſſet, hoc adjunxit: *Pater* (inquit) *meus Hamilcar, puerulo me utpote non ampliùs novem annos nato, in Hiſpaniam imperator proficiſcens, Carthagine Jovi Optimo Maximo hoſtias immolavit; quæ divina res cùm conficiebatur, quæſivit à me, Vellemne ſecum in*

CHAP. II. *For to ſay nothing of Philip, whom,* though *at a Diſtance* from him, *he made an Enemy to the Romans; Antiochus was the moſt powerful Prince of all in thoſe Times. He fired him with ſo ſtrong a Paſſion for making War, that he endeavoured to bring his Arms upon Italy, even as far as from the Red Sea: To whom when the Roman Ambaſſadors were come to make a Diſcovery of his Intention, and did their Endeavour, by clandeſtine Contrivances, to bring Hannibal in Suſpicion with the King, as if, being bribed by them, he had other Sentiments than formerly; and had not done that in vain; and Hannibal perceived it, and ſaw that he was ſecluded from his ſecret Counſels; an Opportunity being given him, he went to the King; and after he had ſaid much* to him, *about his Faithfulneſs* to him, *and his Hatred of the Romans, he added this:* My Father Hamilcar, *ſays he,* when I was a little Boy, as being no more than nine years old, going General into Spain, offered Sacrifices at Carthage to Jupiter the * Beſt and the Greateſt; whilſt this divine Worſhip was performing,

C c

* Theſe are Epithets frequently applied by Heathen Authors to their God Jupiter.

in castra profecisti? Id quam libenter accepissem, atque ab eo petere cœpissem, Ne dubitaret ducere; tum ille, Faciam, inquit, si fiacre mihi, quam postulo, neveris. Simulque ad aram adduxit, apud quam sacrificare instituerat; eamque, cæteris remotis, tenentem jurare jussit, Nunquam me in amicitia cum Romanis fore. Id ego jusjurandum patri datum, atque ad hunc diem ita conservavi, ut nemini dubium esse debeat, quin reliqua tempora eadem mente sim futurus. Quare, si quid amici de Romani cogitamus, non imprudente facias, si me celaris: quum quidem scias parari bellum, tu ipsum frustraberis, si non me in eo principem posueris.

ing, he enquired of me, if I would go along with him to the Camp? As I willingly accepted of that, and began to beg of him, that he would not scruple to carry me; *upon that he says*, I will do it, if you will give me the Promise which I demand of you. And at the same Time he brought me to the Altar at which he had begun to sacrifice, and commanded me, the rest being ordered away, holding that, to swear, That I would never be at Friendship with the Romans. I have kept that Oath sworn to my Father, till this Day, that it ought to be a Doubt with nobody, but that I shall be of the same Mind for the Time to come. Wherefore, if you design any thing friendly as to the Romans, you will not do unwisely, if you conceal it from me; but if, indeed, you will prepare for War, you will deceive yourself, if you do not place me the foremost in that Affair.

CAP. III. Hac igitur erant cum patre in Hispaniam profecta. Cujus post obitum. Eutropius imperatores sufficiuntur, equitatu nonnumquam superiores. Hic quoniam interdum exercitus nimium imperii ac eum deinde ad Carthaginem nimium nobilem compererat. Sic Hannibal nimium quantum a regni. annis bellis, imperatorius. prudentia tremor omnes gentes Hispanas bello insequi. Equitatum ducem. cunctari. v. expugnavit.

CHAP. III. *Hannibal he went as this Age with his Father into Spain. After whose Death Eutropius being put in his Room as General, he commanded all the Horse. He sometimes him, the other part the rest Command of him, which being carried to Carthage, was observed of in the Enemy's Camp. For Hannibal, being much above Years, was that he was known for an in the Enemy's Eyes. Fame Hannibal all the Nations of Spain in Fear: For that a Great Reputation, and Skill in Affairs, with the Romans:*

He

vit; tres exercitus maximos comparavit: ex his unum in Africam miſit, alterum cum Haſdrubale fratre in Hiſpaniâ reliquit, tertium in Italiam ſecum duxit: ſaltum Pyrenæum tranſiît: quàcunque iter fecit, cum omnibus incolis conflixit: neminem niſi victum dimiſit. Ad Alpes poſteaquam venit, quæ Italiam ab Galliâ ſejungunt, quas nemo unquam cum exercitu ante eum, præter Herculem Graium, tranſiêrat, quo facto is hodie ſaltus Graius appellatur; Alpicos conantes prohibere tranſitum concidit; loca patefecit, itinera muniît, effecitque, ut eà elephantus oneratus ire poſſet, quà antea unus homo inermis vix poterat repere. Hâc copias traduxit, in Italiamque pervenit.

*He raiſed three very great Armies: He ſent one of theſe into Africa; another he left with Haſdrubal his Brother in Spain; the third he led along with him into Italy. He paſſed the * Pyrenean Foreſt; whereſoever he made his March he engaged with all the Inhabitants* of the Country; *he ſent none away any otherwiſe than conquered. After he came to the Alps, which divide Italy from Gaul, which nobody had paſſed with an Army before him, beſides Hercules the Grecian, from which Fact that Foreſt is called at this Day the Grecian* Foreſt; *he cut to Pieces the Alpians, endeavouring to hinder his Paſſage; he opened the Places, made Roads, and brought it to paſs, that a loaded Eleghant might go, where before a ſingle Man unarmed could ſcarcely creep. This Way he drew over his Troops, and came into Italy.*

CAP. IV. Conflixerat apud Rhodanum cum P. Cornelio Scipione conſule, eumque pepulerat. Cum hoc eodem de Claſtidio, apud Padum decernit, ſaucium inde ac fugatum dimittit. Tertio, idem

CHAP. IV. *He had engaged at the † Rhone with Publius Cornelius Scipio the Conſul, and had defeated him. He engages with the ſame near the Po, not far from Claſtidium; he ſends him away from thence wounded and routed.*

* The Pyrenean Saltus is a great Ridge of Mountains betwixt France and Spain, reaching from the Bay of Biſcay to the Mediterranean. Our Author calls it by the Name of Saltus, becauſe it was then almoſt wholly covered with Wood.

† Our Author was, in all likelihood, miſtaken here; for Livy, a much better Writer in all Reſpects, gives a different Account, *i. e.* that Scipio deſigned to have engaged him; but finding Hannibal gone from his Camp, altered his Intention, and put his Men on board his Ships, to come to Italy.

idem Scipio, cum collegâ Tiberio Longo, ad Trebiam, adverſus eum venit. Cum his manum conſeruit, utrumque profligavit. Inde per Ligures Appenninum tranſiit, petens Hetruriam. Hoc itinere adeò gravi morbo afficitur oculorum, ut poſtea numquam dextro æquè bene uſus ſit. Quâ valetudine quum etiam premeretur, lecticâque ferretur, C. Flaminium conſulem apud Traſimenum cum exercitu inſidiis circumventum, occidit: neque multò poſt C. Centenium prætorem, cum delectâ manu ſaltus occupantem. Hinc in Apuliam pervenit; ibi obviam ei venerunt duo conſules, C. Terentius Varro, & Paulus Æmilius: Utriuſque exercitus uno prælio fugavit: L. Paulum conſulem occidit, & aliquot præterea conſulares; in his Cn. Servilium Geminum, qui anno ſuperiore fuerat conſul.

The ſame Scipio, with his Colleague Tiberius Longus, came againſt him a third Time, * *at Trebia. He engaged them,* and *defeated them both. After that he paſſed the* † *Appennine* Mountain *through* the Country of *the* ‡ *Ligurians, marching for* § *Etruria. In this March he was afflicted with ſuch a violent Diſtemper in his Eyes, that he never had the Uſe of his Right* Eye *ſo well after: With which Malady tho' he was* then *troubled, and carried in a Chair, he killed C. Flaminius the Conſul, at the* ** *Traſimene Lake, trepanned with his Army by an Ambuſh: and not long after C. Centenius the Pretor, ſeizing upon the Foreſts with a choice Body of Troops. After that he came into* †† *Apulia. There the two Conſuls, C. Terentius Varro, and L. Paulus Emilius, met him: He routed both their Armies in one Battle: He ſlew L. Paulus the Conſul, and ſome conſular Gentlemen beſides; amongſt theſe Cn. Servilius Geminus, who had been Conſul the Year before.*

CAP. V. Hâc pugnâ pugnatâ Romam profectus eſt, nullo reſiſtente. In propinquis urbis montibus moratus

CHAP. V. *After this Battle was fought he marched to Rome, nobody reſiſting him. He made a Halt in the Mountains, nigh the City.*

* A River falling into the Po on the South Side.

† The Appennine is a Mountain that runs quite through the Middle of Italy

‡ The Ligurians were a People of Italy, bordering on France, betwixt the Sea and the Po.

§ Etruria is a Country below Liguria in Italy.

** The Traſimene Lake is in Etruria.

†† A Country in the South Part of Italy.

tus eſt. Quum aliquot ibi dies caſtra habuiſſet, & reverteretur Capuam, C. Fabius Maximus, Dictator Romanus, in agro Falerno ei ſe objecit. Hinc, clauſus locorum anguſtiis, noctu ſine ullo detrimento exercitûs ſe expedivit. Fabio callidiſſimo imperatori dedit verba: Namque obductâ nocte, ſarmenta in cornibus jumentorum deligata incendit, ejuſque generis multitudinem magnam diſpalatam immiſit. Quo repentino objectu viſo, tantum terrorem injecit exercitui Romanorum, ut egredi extra vallum nemo ſit auſus. Hanc poſt rem geſtam, non ita multis diebus, M. Minutium Rufum magiſtrum equitum, pari ac dictatorem imperio, dolo perductum in prælio fugavit. T. Sempronium Gracchum, iterum conſulem, in Lucanis abſens, in inſidias inductum ſuſtulit. M. Claudium Marcellum, quinquies conſulem, apud Venuſiam pari modo interfecit. Longum eſt enumerare prælia: Quare hoc unum ſatis erit dictum, ex quo intelligi poſſit, quantus ille fuerit: Quamdiu in Italiâ fuit,

City. When he had kept his Camp there for ſome Days, and was returning to * *Capua, Q. Fabius Maximus, the Roman* † *Dictator, threw himſelf in his Way in the Territory of Falernum.* Though *incloſed in a narrow Place, he extricated himſelf thence in the Night-time, without any Diminution of his Army. He put a Trick upon the moſt crafty Commander Fabius: For* after *Night* was *come on, he ſet fire to* ſome *Twigs, tied upon the Horns of* ſome *Bullocks, and ſent up a vaſt Number of that Sort* of Cattle *ſcattered here and there. Which ſudden Appearance being ſeen, it ſtruck ſo great a Terror into the Army of the Romans, that none durſt go without their Ramparts. Not many Days after this Exploit, he routed M. Minutius Rufus, Maſter of the Horſe,* inveſted *with the ſame Power as the Dictator himſelf, being drawn to an Engagement by a Wile. He* likewiſe *took off Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a ſecond Time Conſul, in* the Country of *the Lucanians, being drawn into an Ambuſh: In like Manner he cut off M Claudius Marcellus, a fifth Time Conſul, at Venuſia. It is* too *long to reckon up* all *the Battles: Wherefore this one Thing will be enough* to be *ſaid, from whence it*

* A very great City of Campania, a Country towards the Bottom of Italy.

† The Dictator was an extraordinary Officer, nominated in Times of Danger, and inveſted with great Power, almoſt abſolute, but confined within the Space of Six Months. He had an Officer under him, called Maſter of the Horſe, becauſe in the Day of Battle he commanded the Horſe, as the Dictator did the Foot.

fuit, nemo ei in acie reſtitit: nemo adverſus eum, poſt Cannenſem pugnam, in campo caſtra poſuit.

it may be underſtood how great a Man he was: So long as he was in Italy, nobody could ſtand before him in the Field: Nobody, after the Battle of Cannæ, pitched his Camp in the Plain againſt him.

CAP. VI. Hic invictus patriam defenſum revocatus, bellum geſſit adverſus P. Scipionis filium, quem ipſe primum apud Padum, tertio apud Trebiam fugaverat. Cum hoc, exhauſtis jam patriæ facultatibus, cupivit impræſentiarum bellum componere, quò valentior poſtea congrederetur. In colloquium convenit; conditiones non convenerunt. Poſt id factum, paucis diebus, apud Zamam cum eodem conflixit: pulſus (incredibile dictu!) biduo & duabus noctibus Adrumetum pervenit, quod abeſt à Zamâ circiter millia paſſuum trecenta. In hâc fugâ, Numidæ, qui ſimul cum eo acie exceſſerant, inſidiati ſunt ei: quos non ſolùm effugit, ſed etiam ipſos oppreſſit; Adrumeti reliquos ex fugâ collegit; novis delectibus, paucis diebus, multos contraxit.

CHAP. VI. *This unconquered Man being called Home to defend his Country, carried on the War againſt the Son of that P. Scipio, whom he had routed firſt at the Rhone, again at the Po, and a third Time at Trebia. The Wealth of his Country being exhauſted, he was deſirous to make an End of the War by Treaty with him for that Time, that he might engage* the Romans *afterwards,* when *more able. He came to a Conference* with him; *the Articles were not agreed upon. A few Days after that Tranſaction he engaged with the ſame at* * *Zama; being routed,* (it is *incredible to be ſaid!*) *in two Days and two Nights he came to* † *Adrumetum, which is about three hundred Miles diſtant from Zama. In this Flight,* ſome *Numidians, who had come out of the Battle with him, formed a Plot againſt him; whom he not only eſcaped, but likewiſe killed. At Adrumetum he picked up thoſe* that were *left after the Flight;* and *by new Levies, in a few Days raiſed a great many.*

CAP. VII. Quum in apparando acerrime eſſet occu-

CHAP. VII. *Whilſt he was mighty buſy in making Prepara-*

tions,

* Zama was a Town in Africa, in Numidia Propria, South Weſt from Carthage.

† Adrumetum, a Town of Africa, in the Province of Byzacium, upon the Sea, to the Eaſtward of Carthage.

cupatus, Carthaginenſes bellum cum Romanis compoſuerunt. Ille, nihilo ſeciùs, exercitui poſtea præfuit, reſque in Africâ geſſit; itemque Mago frater ejus, uſque ad Publium Sulpicium & Caium Aurelium conſules. His enim magiſtratibus, legati Carthaginenſes Romam venerunt, qui ſenatui populoque Romano gratias agerunt, quòd cum his pacem feciſſent, ob eamque rem coronâ aureâ eos donarent, ſimulque peterent, ut obſides eorum Fregellis eſſent, captivique redderentur. His ex ſenatuſconſulto reſponſum eſt, Munus eorum gratum acceptumque eſſe; obſides quo loco rogarent, futuros; captivos non remiſſuros, quòd Hannibalem, cujus opera ſuſceptum bellum foret, inimiciſſimum nomini Romano, & nunc cum imperio apud exercitum haberent; itemque fratrem ejus Magonem. Hoc reſponſo Carthaginenſes cognito, Hannibalem domum Magonemq; revocârunt. Huc ut rediit, prætor factus eſt poſtquam rex fuerat, anno ſecundo & viceſimo. Ut enim Romæ conſules, ſic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur. In eo magiſtratu pari

tions, the Carthaginians ended the War by Treaty with the Romans. He, notwithſtanding, afterwards commanded the Army, and performed ſeveral *Actions in Africa; and likewiſe Mago his Brother, until P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius* were *Conſuls. For under theſe Magiſtrates, Carthaginian Ambaſſadors came to Rome to give Thanks to the Senate and People of Rome, becauſe they had made Peace with them, and to preſent them with a Golden Crown upon that Account; and at the ſame Time to requeſt, that their Hoſtages might be at* * *Fregellæ, and their Priſoners be reſtored. To theſe Anſwer was made by Order of the Senate, That their Preſent was grateful add acceptable; that the Hoſtages ſhould be in the Place they deſired;* but *that they would not ſend back the Priſoners, becauſe they had Hannibal, by whoſe Means the War had been occaſioned, a bitter Enemy to the Roman Name, even now with a Command at the Army; and likewiſe his Brother Mago. The Carthaginians, having heard this Anſwer, ſent for Hannibal and Mago home. He, as ſoon as he returned, was made* † *Pretor, in the two and twentieth Year after he had been made King. For as Conſuls are made at Rome, ſo at Carthage every Year two Kings were made for a Year. In that Office*

* Fregellæ is a Town of Latium, or nigh the Borders of Campania, in Italy.

† A [illegible] Lord Chief Juſtice, or Superintendant in their Courts of J[illegible]

pari diligentiâ ſe Hannibal præbuit, ac fuerat in bello: Namque effecit, ex novis vectigalibus non ſolùm ut eſſet pecunia, quæ Romanis ex fœdere penderetur, ſed etiam ſupereſſet, quæ in ærario poneretur. Deinde anno poſt præturam, M. Claudio, Lucio Furio Coſſ. Romani legati Carthaginem venerunt; hos Hannibal ſui expoſcendi gratiâ miſſos ratus, priuſquam his ſenatus daretur, navem conſcendit clam, atque in Syriam ad Antiochum profugit. Hâc re palam factâ, Pœni naves duas, quæ eum comprehenderent, ſi poſſent conſequi, miſerunt; bona ejus publicârunt, domum à fundamentis disjecerunt; ipſum exulem judicârunt.

Office Hannibal behaved himſelf with the like Diligence as he had done in the War: For he took care not only that there ſhould be Money from the new Taxes, to be paid the Romans, according to the Treaty, but likewiſe that there ſhould be an Overplus to be laid up in the Treaſury. Then a Year after his Pretorſhip, when *M. Claudius and L. Furius* were *Conſuls, Roman Ambaſſadors came to Carthage; Hannibal ſuppoſing they were ſent upon Account of demanding him, before* an Audience of *the Senate was given them, privately goes aboard a Ship, and fled into Syria to Antiochus. This Thing being made publick, the Carthaginians ſent two Ships to ſeize him, if they could overtake him; they confiſcated his Eſtate, they pulled down his Houſe to the Foundations,* and *declared him an Exile.*

CAP. VIII. At Hannibal anno tertio poſtquam domo profugerat, L. Cornelio, Quinto Minutio Coſſ. cum quinque navibus Africam acceſſit, in finibus Cyrenæorum, ſi fortè Carthaginenſes ad bellum, Antiochi ſpe fiduciâque, inducere poſſet; cui jam perſuaſerat, ut cum exercitibus in Italiam proficiſceretur. Huc Magonem fratrem excivit. Id ubi Pœni reſciverunt, Magonem, eâdem, quâ fratrem abſentem, pœna afficerunt. Illi, deſperatis rebus, quum ſolviſſent naves, ac vela ventis de-

CHAP. VIII. *But Hannibal, in the third Year after he fled from Home,* when *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Minutius* were *Conſuls, came with five Ships to Africa in the Country of the Cyreneans, if perhaps he might induce the Carthaginians to a War, through the Hope and Confidence of Antiochus's* Support; *whom he had now perſuaded to go with his Armies into Italy. Hither he ſent for his Brother Mago. When the Carthaginians underſtood that, they puniſhed Mago with the ſame Puniſhment as his abſent Brother. Their Condition being deſperate, after they had looſed their Ships, and*

dediſſent, Hannibal ad Antiochum pervenit. De Magonis interitu duplex memoria prodita eſt; namque alii naufragio, alii à ſervis ipſius interfectum eum ſcriptum reliquerunt. Antiochus autem, ſi tam in agendo bello parere voluiſſet conſiliis ejus, quàm in ſuſpiciendo inſtituerat, propiùs Tiberi quàm Thermopylis de ſummâ imperii dimicâſſet: quem etſi multa ſtultè conari videbat, tamen nullâ defuerit in re. Præfuit paucis navibus, quas ex Syriâ juſſus erat in Aſiam ducere, hiſque adverſus Rhodiorum claſſem in Pamphylio mari conflixit; quo quum multitudine adverſariorum ſui ſuperarentur, ipſe, quo cornu rem geſſit, fuit ſuperior.

and given their Sails to the Winds, Hannibal came to Antiochus. There is a double Account given of Mago's Death; for ſome have left upon Record, that * he periſhed *by Shipwreck; others, that he was ſlain by his Slaves. But Antiochus, if he would have obeyed his Advice, as well in carrying on the War, as he had reſolved in undertaking it, would have fought nearer Tiber than Thermopylæ for the Empire of the World: Whom, tho' he ſaw enterpriſe many Things fooliſhly, yet he forſook in nothing. He commanded a few Ships, which he had been ordered to bring out of Syria into Aſia, and with theſe he engaged againſt the Fleet of the Rhodians in the Pamphylian Sea; in which* Fight, *tho' his Men were overpowered by the Numbers of their Enemies, he was* however *ſuperior in that Wing in which he acted.*

CAP. IX. Antiocho fugato, verens ne dederetur, quod ſine dubio accidiſſet, ſi ſui feciſſet poteſtatem, Cretam ad Gortynios venit, ut ibi, quò ſe conferret, conſideraret. Vidit autem vir omnium callidiſſimus, magno ſe fore periculo, niſi quid prævidiſſet, propter avaritiam Cretenſium; magnam enim

CHAP. IX. After *Antiochus* was *routed, fearing leſt he ſhould be given up, which without Doubt would have happened, if he had given* them *an Opportunity of* ſnapping *him, he came to* † *Crete to the Gortynians, that there he might conſider whither he ſhould betake himſelf. But this Man, the moſt cunning of all* Men, *ſaw that he ſhould be in great Danger,*

* There ſeems to be ſome Word wanting in the Text after *Naufragio*, ſuch as *periiſſe* or *interiiſſe*; for *Naufragio interfectus* is, I take it, juſt as good Latin, as *killed by a Shipwreck*, is good Engliſh.

† A famous Iſland in the South Parts of the Egean Sea.

enim ſecum pecuniam portabat, de quâ ſciebat exîſſe famam. Itaque capit tale conſilium; amphoras complures complet plumbo, ſummas operit auro & argento: has Gortyniis præſentibus deponit in templo Dianæ, ſimulans ſe ſuas fortunas illorum fidei credêre. His in errorem ductis, ſtatuas æneas, quas ſecum portabat, omnes ſuâ pecuniâ complet, eaſque in propatulo domi abjicit. Gortynii templum magnâ curâ cuſtodiunt, non tam à cæteris quàm ab Hannibale; ne quid ille inſcientibus his tolleret, ſecumque aſportaret.

unleſs he took ſome Care, by Reaſon of the Covetuouſneſs of the Cretans; for he carried a great deal of Money with him, of which he knew a Rumour was got abroad. Wherefore he takes this Courſe; he fills ſeveral Pots with Lead, he covers the upper Parts with Gold and Silver: He depoſits theſe, whilſt *the Gortynians* were *preſent, in the Temple of Diana, pretending he would entruſt his Fortune to their Honeſty. Theſe being led into a Miſtake, he fills* all *his brazen Statues, which he carried with him, with his Money, and throws them into an open Place at home. The Gortynians guard the Temple with great Care, not ſo much againſt others, as againſt Hannibal; leſt he ſhould take any Thing away without their Knowledge, and carry it off with him.*

CAP. X. Sic conſervatis ſuis rebus, Pœnus, illuſis Cretenſibus omnibus, ad* Pruſiam in Pontum pervenit; apud quem eodem animo fuit erga Italiam; neque aliud quicquam egit quàm regem armavit, & excitavit adverſus Romanos; quem quum videret domeſticis rebus minùs eſſe robuſtum, conciliabat cæteros reges, adjungebatque bellicoſas nationes. Diffidebat ab eo Pergamenus rex Eumenes, Romanis amiciſſimus; bellumque

CHAP. X. *Thus the Carthaginian, having ſaved his Money,* and *fooled all the Cretans, came to Pruſias into* * *Pontus; with whom he was of the ſame Diſpoſition as to Italy: Nor did he do any Thing elſe but arm the King, and animate him againſt the Romans; whom when he ſaw* to be *not at all ſtrong in his own Circumſtances, he brought over other Princes, and joined warlike Nations to* him. *Eumenes, King of* † *Pergamus, was at Difference with him, a very great Friend to the Romans; and a War was carried*

* A Province of Aſia Minor, lying upon the Euxine Sea.
† A City of Myſia Minor in Aſia Minor.

lumque inter eos gerebatur & mari & terrâ, quò magîs cupiebat eum Hannibal oppiimi; ſed utrobique Eumenes plùs valebat, propter Romanorum ſocietatem; quem ſi removiſſet, faciliora ſibi cætera fore arbitrabatur. Ad hunc interficiendum talem inſit rationem: claſſe paucis diebus erant decertaturi: ſuperabatur naviùm multitudine: dolo erat pugnandum, quum par non eſſet armis. Imperavit quàm plurimas venenatas ſerpentes, vivas colligi, eaſque in vaſa fictilia conjici: harum quum confeciſſet magnam multitudinem, die ipſo quo facturus erat navale prælium, claſſiarios convocat, hiſque præcipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concurrant navem, à cæteris tantùm ſatis habeant ſe defendere; id facilè illos ſerpentum multitudine conſecuturos; rex autem quâ nave veheretur, ut ſcirent, ſe facturum: quem ſi aut cepiſſent, aut interfeciſſent, magno his pollicetur id præmio fore.

ried on betwixt them both by Sea and Land; for which Reaſon Hannibal was the more deſirous to have him taken off; but Eumenes prevailed every where by virtue of the Alliance with the Romans; whom if he could but remove, he thought other Things would be more eaſy. He took this Method to kill him: They were to engage with their Fleet in a few Days; he was quite outdone in Number of Ships: He was therefore *to fight with Subtlety, ſince he was not a Match* for him *in Arms. He ordered as many poiſonous Serpents as poſſible to be got together alive, and to be put in earthen Pots; after he had made up a good Number of them, upon the Day whereon he was to fight* this *Battle by Sea, he calls his Fleet together, and orders them all to gather about the Ship of King Eumenes alone, to be content to defend themſelves only againſt the Reſt; that they might eaſily do, by the great Number of Serpents; he would take Care they ſhould know in what Ship the King ſailed; whom if they either took or killed, he promiſes they ſhould have a good Reward for it.*

CAP. XI. Tali cohortatione militum factâ, claſſis ab utriſque in prælium deducitur; quarum aciè conſtitutâ, priuſquam ſignum pugnæ daretur, Hannibal, ut palam faceret ſuis, quo loco Eumenes eſſet, tabellarium in ſcaphâ cum caduceo mittit,

CHAP. XI. *Having made this Exhortation to his Soldiers, the Fleet is drawn out to a Battle by both Sides: The Line of Battle in each being formed, before the Signal of the Fight was given, Hannibal, that he might make known to his Men in what Place Eumenes was, ſends a Letter-*

tit. Qui, ubi ad naves adverſariorum pervenit, epiſtolam oſtendens, ſe regem profeſſus eſt quærere; ſtatim ad Eumenem deductus eſt, quòd nemo dubitabat aliquid de pace eſſe ſcriptum. Tabellarius, ducis nave declaratâ ſuis, eòdem unde ierat ſe recepit. At Eumenes, ſolutâ epiſtolâ, nihil in eâ reperit, niſi quod ad irridendum eum pertineret: cujus etſi cauſam mirabatur, neque reperiebatur, tamen prælium ſtatim committere non dubitavit. Horum in concurſu, Bithyni, Hannibalis præcepto, univerſi navem Eumenis adoriuntur; quorum vim quum rex ſuſtinere non poſſet, fugâ ſalutem petiît; quam conſecutus non eſſet, niſi intra ſua præſidia ſe recepiſſet, quæ in proximo littore erant collocata. Reliquæ Pergamenæ naves quum adverſarios premerent acrius, repente in eas vaſa fictilia, de quibus ſuprà mentionem fecimus, conjici cœpta ſunt; quæ jacta, initio riſum pugnantibus excitârunt, neque, quare id fieret, poterat intelligi. Poſtquam naves completas conſpexerunt ſerpentibus, nova re perterriti, quum quid potiſſimum vitarent non viderent, puppes averterunt, ſeque ad ſua caſtra nautica retulerunt. Sic Hannibal

*carrier in a Boat, with a * Staff of Peace: who, after he came to the Enemies Ships, ſhowing the Letter, told them he wanted the King: immediately he was brought to Eumenes, becauſe nobody doubted there was ſomething written* in it *about Peace. The Letter-carrier, having* thus *diſcovered the King's Ship to his own* Side, *withdrew himſelf to the ſame Place from whence he had come. But Eumenes, having opened the Letter, found nothing in it but what tended to banter him: The Reaſon of which altho' he wondered at, nor was it diſcovered, yet he ſcrupled not immediately to join Battle. In their Fight, the Bithynians, by Order of Hannibal, all of them attacked the Ship of Eumenes; the Fury of whom when the King was not able to withſtand, he ſought his Security by Flight; which he would not have obtained, unleſs he had betaken himſelf within his Guards, which he had poſted upon the neighbouring Shore. When the reſt of the Pergamene Ships bore hard upon the Enemy, on a ſudden the earthen Pots, of which we made mention above, began to be thrown amongſt them, which,* when *caſt* at them, *at firſt raiſed a Laugh amongſt the Soldiers, nor could it be comprehended for what Reaſon it was done. After they ſaw the Ships filled with Serpents, being*

* The Caduceus was a Staff with the Figure of two Serpents twiſted about it, borne by Heralds and other Meſſengers, ſent to an Enemy to ſignify their coming in a peaceable Manner.

nibal conſilio arma Pergamenorum ſuperavit: neque tum ſolùm, ſed ſæpe aliàs pedeſtribus copiis pari prudentiâ pepulit adverſarios.

ing affrighted at this new Thing, as they knew not what chiefly they ſhould avoid, they turned their Ships, and betook themſelves to their Sea Camp. Thus Hannibal, by this Contrivance, prevailed againſt the Arms of the Pergameneans: Nor did he do *that then only, but often at other Times, he defeated the Enemy with his Land Forces with the like Conduct.*

Cap. XII. Quæ dum in Aſiâ geruntur, accidit caſu, ut legati Pruſiæ Romæ apud L. Quintium Flaminium conſulem cœnarent: atque ibi, de Hannibale mentione factâ, ex his unus diceret eum in Pruſiæ regno eſſe. Id poſtero die Flaminius ſenatui detulit. Patres conſcripti, qui, Hannibale vivo, nunquam ſe ſine inſidiis futuros exiſtimabant, legatos in Bithyniam miſerunt, in his Flaminium, qui à rege peterent, ne inimiciſſimum ſuum ſecum haberet, ſibique ut dederet. His Pruſias negare auſus non eſt; illud recuſavit, id ne à ſe fieri poſtularent, quod adverſus jus hoſpitii eſſet; ipſi, ſi poſſent, comprehenderent, locum ubi eſſet facile inventuros. Hannibal enim uno loco ſe tenebat, in caſtello, quod ei ab rege datum erat muneri; idque ſic ædificâret, ut in omnibus partibus ædificii exitus haberet, ſemper verens ne uſu veniret, quod accidit. Huc quum legati Romanorum veniſſent,

Chap. XII. *Which Things whilſt they are doing in Aſia, it happened by Chance, that the Ambaſſadors of Pruſias at Rome ſupped with L. Q. Flaminius, the Conſul: And there Mention being made of Hannibal, one of them ſaid, That he was in the Kingdom of Pruſias. Flaminius, the Day after, carried that to the Senate. The Fathers of the Senate, who thought they ſhould never be without Contrivances againſt them,* ſo long as *Hannibal was alive, ſent Ambaſſadors into Bithynia, amongſt theſe Flaminius, to deſire of the King, that he would not keep their bittereſt Enemy with him, and that he would ſurrender him up to them. Pruſias durſt not deny them; but he refuſed one Thing,* and deſired *they would not expect that to be done by him, which was contrary to the Right of Hoſpitality; they might catch him, if they could, they would eaſily find the Place where he was. For Hannibal kept himſelf in one Place, in a Caſtle, which had been given him as a Preſent by the King;*

and

niſſent, ac multitudine domum ejus circumdediſſent; puer ab januâ proſpiciens, Hannibali dixit plures præter conſuetudinem armatos apparere; qui imperavit ei, ut omnes fores ædificii circumiret, ac propere ſibi renunciaret, num eodem modo undique obſideretur: Puer quum celeriter quid eſſet renunciâſſet, omneſque excitus occupatos oſtendiſſet; ſenſit id non fortuitò factum, ſed ſe peti, neque ſibi diutiùs vitam eſſe retinendam; quam ne alieno arbitrio demitteret, memor priſtinarum virtutum, venenum quod ſemper ſuum habere conſueverat, ſumſit.

and he had ſo built it, that it had Ways out on all Sides of the Building, fearing always leſt that ſhould come to paſs, which fell out. When the Ambaſſadors of the Romans were come thither, and had beſet the Houſe with a good Number of Men, *a Boy, looking out at a Gate, told Hannibal, that ſeveral armed Men appeared contrary to Cuſtom; who ordered him to go round to all the Doors of the Caſtle, and bring him Word quickly, whether he was blocked up on all Sides in the ſame Manner: When the Boy quickly brought Word again how it was, and informed him, that all the Ways out were ſecured; he was ſenſible that was not accidentally done, but that he was aimed at, and that he ought to keep his Life no longer; which that he might not part with at another's Pleaſure, mindful of his former noble Qualities, he took Poiſon, which he had been accuſtomed to carry always about him.*

CAP. XII. Sic vir fortiſſimus, multis variiſque perfunctus laboribus, anno acquievit ſeptuageſimo. Quibus conſulibus interierit, non convenit. Nam Atticus, M. Claudio Marcello, & Q. Labio Labeone Coſſ. mortuum, in Annali ſuo ſcriptum reliquit: Polybius, Æmilio Paulo, & Cn. Bæbio Tamphilo: Sulpitius autem, P. Cornelio Cethego, & M. Bæbio Tamphilo. Atque hic tantus vir,

CHAP. XIII. *Thus this moſt gallant Man, after he had run through many and various Toils, reſted in his ſeventieth Year. Under what Conſuls he died, is not agreed; for Atticus has left it written in his Annal, that he died* when *M. Claudius Marcellus and Q. Labius Labeo* were *Conſuls.* But *Polybius* ſays *under L. Emilius Paulus, and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. But Sulpitius* ſays he died in the Time of *P. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Bæbius*

vir, tantiſque bellis diſtrictus, nonnihil temporis tribuit literis; namque aliquot ejus libri ſunt Græco ſermone confecti: in his ad Rhodios de Cn. Manlii Volſonis in Aſiâ rebus geſtis. Hujus bella geſta multi memoriæ prodiderunt: ſed ex his duo, qui cum eo in caſtris fuerunt, ſimulque vixerunt, quam diu fortuna paſſa eſt, Philænius & Soſilus Lacedæmonius. Atque hoc Soſilo Hannibal literarum Græcarum uſus eſt doctore. Sed nunc tempus eſt hujus libri facere finem, & Romanorum explicare imperatores; quò facilius, collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri præferendi ſint, poſſit judicari.

Bæbius Tamphilus. And this great Man, and ſo prodigiouſly taken up with the Proſecution of *ſuch great Wars, employed ſome Part of his Time in Letters; for there are ſome Books of his written in the Greek Tongue: Amongſt theſe* one *to the Rhodians concerning the Actions of Cn. Manlius Volſo in Aſia. Many have tranſmitted to Memory his Wars* which were *carried on* by him. *But two of them* were ſuch, *who were with him in the Camp, and lived with him as long as his Circumſtances allowed it, Philænius and Soſilus the Lacædemonian. And Hannibal made uſe of this Soſilus, as his Inſtructor in the Greek Tongue. But now it is Time to make an End of this Book, and to relate* the Lives of *the Roman Commanders, that by comparing the Actions of both, it may be the more eaſily diſcerned which Men are to have the Preference.*

XXIV. *M. PORCIUS*

XXIV.

M. PORCIUS CATO.

EX LIBRO SECUNDO *CORNELII NEPOTIS.*

CAP. I.

CATO ortus municipio Tuſculo, adoleſcentulus, priuſquam honoribus operam daret, verſatus eſt in Sabinis, quòd ibi hæredium à patre relictum habebat. Hortatu L. Valerii Flacci, quem in conſulatu cenſuràque habuit collegam, ut M. Perpenna Cenſorinus narrare ſolitus eſt, Romam demigravit, in foro eſſe cœpit. Primum ſtipendium meruit annorum decem ſeptemque, Q. Fabio

XXIV.

M. PORCIUS CATO.

Out of the SECOND BOOK of *CORNELIUS NEPOS.*

CHAP. I.

*CATO was born in the Borough Town of * Tuſculum,* and when *a very young Man, before he made Suit for any publick Poſts in the Government, lived in the* Country of the *Sabines, becauſe he had an Eſtate there, left him by his Father. By the Advice of L. Valerius Flaccus, whom he had for his Colleague in the Conſulſhip and Cenſorſhip, as M. Perpenna Cenſorinus uſed to ſay, he removed to Rome,* and *began to appear in the † Forum. He firſt*

* A Town of Latium, in Italy, nearly twenty Miles from Rome.

† The Forum was a large Square in the Middle of the Cities of Italy and Greece, where the Courts and Markets were kept, and where the People uſually met, for the Choice of Magiſtrates, and enacting of Laws.

Fabio Maximo, M. Claudio Marcello Coſſ. Tribunus militum in Siciliâ fuit. Inde ut rediit, caſtra ſecutus eſt C. Claudii Neronis, magnique opera ejus æſtimata eſt in prælio apud Senam, quo cecidit Haſdrubal frater Hannibalis. Quæſtor obtigit P. Cornelio Africano conſuli, cum quo non pro ſortis neceſſitudine vixit; namque ab eo perpetua diſſenſit vita. Ædilis plebis factus eſt cum C. Helvio. Prætor, provinciam obtinuit Sardiniam, ex quâ Quæſtor ſuperiore tempore ex Africâ decedens, Q. Ennium poëtam deduxerat; quod non minoris æſtimamus, quàm quemlibet ampliſſimum Sardinienſem triumphum.

firſt entered the Service of his Country in the Wars, when he was *Seventeen Years* of Age, *under the Conſuls Q. Fabius Maximus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus. He was a* * *Tribune of Soldiers in Sicily. As ſoon as he came from thence, he followed the Camp of C. Claudius Nero, and his Service was highly valued in the Battle* † *at Sena, in which Haſdrubal, the Brother of Hannibal, fell. He happened to be* § *Queſtor to P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* when *Conſul, with whom he lived not according to the* ‡ *Obligation his Chance* had brought him under; *for he differed with him all his Life long. He was made* ** *Edile of the Commons with C. Helvius.* When †† *Pretor, he got the Province of Sardinia; out of which, when coming Queſtor ſome Time before out of Africa, he had brought away Q. Ennius the Poet;*

CAP.

* A Tribune was a military Officer, pretty much like our Colonels. There were at firſt ſix in a Legion, which had the Command of it in their Turns; but afterwards they were reduced to the Command of one ſingle Cohort or Regiment, of which there were ten in a Legion; and therefore it is ſuppoſed there were the like Number of Tribunes.

† A City of Italy, in that Part of it formerly called Umbria, nigh the Adriatick Sea.

§ The Queſtor in Rome was a Sort of a Lord Treaſurer. The Proconſuls and Propretors too, that were ſent Governors into the Provinces of the Roman Empire, had their Queſtors, who had the Charge of the Publick Money, the Plunder that was not given to the Soldiers, &c.

‡ The Queſtors, as well as Proconſuls and Propretors, had their Provinces aſſigned them by Lot, and uſually lived in a ſtrict Friendſhip with thoſe under whom their Lot fell.

** An Officer whoſe Buſineſs it was to take Care of the Markets and publick Buildings.

†† The Pretor at Rome was Superintendant, or Director, of their Courts of Juſtice.

Poet; which we value no leſs, than any the nobleſt Triumph over Sardinia.

CAP. II. Conſulatum geſſit cum L. Valerio Flacco; ſorte provinciam nactus Hiſpaniam citeriorem, exque eâ triumphum deportavit. Ibi quum diutiùs moraretur, P. Scipio Africanus, conſul iterum, cujus in priori conſulatu Quæſtor fuerat, voluit eum de Provinciâ depellere, & ipſe ei ſuccedere; neque hoc per ſenatum efficere potuit, quum quidem Scipio in civitate principatum obtineret: quòd tum non potentiâ, ſed jure, reſpublica adminiſtrabatur: quâ ex re iratus ſenatu peracto. privatus in urbe manſit. At Cato, Cenſor cum eodem Flacco factus, ſeverè præfuit ei poteſtati; nam & in complures nobiles animadvertit, & multas res novas in edictum addidit, quâ re luxuria reprimeretur, quæ jam tum incipiebat pullulare. Circiter annos octoginta, uſque ad extremam ætatem, ab adoleſcentiâ, reipublicæ cauſâ ſuſpicere inimicitias non deſtitit. A multis tentatus, non modò nullum detrimentum exiſtimationis fecit, ſed quoad vixit, virtutum laude crevit. In omnibus rebus ſingulari fuit prudentiâ & induſtriâ; nam & agricolæ ſolers, & reipublicæ peritus, & juris con-

CHAP. II. *He bore the Office of Conſul with L. Valerius Flaccus; he got by Lot Hither Spain* for *his Province, and brought* home *from thence a Triumph. As he ſtaid there long, P. Scipio Africanus, a ſecond Time Conſul, whoſe Queſtor he had been in the former Conſulate, deſigned to out him of his Province, and to ſucceed him himſelf; but could not effect it by the Senate, though Scipio had the greateſt Sway in the City; becauſe the Government was then managed not by Intereſt, but Juſtice: For which Reaſon being angry,* when *his Conſulſhip* was *expired, he continued a private Perſon in the City. But Cato, being made Cenſor with the ſame Flaccus, behaved very ſtrictly in that Poſt; for he puniſhed ſeveral Noblemen, and put a great many new Things into the Edict, whereby Luxury might be reſtrained, which even then began to bud. He never ceaſed for about fourſcore Years, from his Youth to the End of his Life, to engage in Quarrels upon the Commonwealth's Account.* Though he was *attacked by many, he not only ſuffered no Loſs of Reputation, but grew in Fame for his exſellent Qualities, as long as he lived. In all Things he was a Man of excellent Prudence and Induſtry; for he was both a dextrous Huſbandman, well ſkilled in the Buſineſs of Government, and a Lawyer, and a great*

conſultus, & magnus imperator & probabilis orator, & cupidiſſimus literarum fuit; quarum ſtudium etſi ſenior arripuerat, tamen tantum progreſſum fecit, ut non facilè reperire poſſis, neque de Græcis neque de Italicis rebus, quod ei fuerit incognitum. Ab adoleſcentiâ confecit orationes; ſenex hiſtorias ſcribere inſtituit, quarum ſunt libri ſeptem: Primus continet res geſtas regum populi Romani: Secundus & tertius, unde quæque civitas orta ſit Italica, ob quam rem omnes *Origines* videtur appellâſſe: In quarto autem, bellum Punicum primum: in quinto, ſecundum: atque hæc omnia capitulatim ſunt dicta. Reliquaque bella pari modo perſecutus eſt uſque ad Præturam Ser. Galbæ, qui diripuit Luſitanos. Atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, ſed ſine nominibus res notavit. In iiſdem expoſuit quæ in Italiâ Hiſpaniiſque viderentur admiranda; in quibus multa induſtria & diligentia comparet, multa doctrina. Cujus de vitâ & moribus plura in eo libro perſecuti ſumus, quem ſeparatim de eo fecimus, rogatu Titi Pomponii Attici: quare ſtudioſos Catonis ad illud volumen relegamus.

great Commander, and a plauſible Orator, and very fond of Learning; the Study of which though he took up when *old, yet he made ſo great a Progreſs in it, that you cannot eaſily find* any Thing, *either of the Grecian or the Italian Affairs, which was unknown to him. He made Speeches from his Youth:* When *old, he began to write Hiſtory, of which there are ſeven Books: The firſt contains The Actions of the Kings of the Roman People: The ſecond and third* contain an Account, *from whom every City of Italy had its Riſe, for which Reaſon he ſeems to have called them all* Origines: *In the fourth* is *the firſt Carthaginian War: In the fifth, the ſecond: And all theſe Things are ſummarily related. And he has gone through the other Wars, in the like Manner, unto the Pretorſhip of Ser. Galba, who rifled the Luſitanians. And he has not named the Generals in theſe Wars, but has ſet down the Actions without Names. In the ſame* Books *he has given an Account of what ſeemed remarkable in Italy and Spain; in which there appears much Induſtry and Diligence,* and *much Learning. We have ſaid more concerning his Life and Manners, in that Book which we made ſeparately about him, at the Requeſt of T. Pomponius Atticus; wherefore we ſend thoſe that are deſirous of knowing Cato to that Volume.*

XXV.

T. POMPONII ATTICI *Vita, ex* Cornelio Nepote.

CAP. I.

POMPONIUS Atticus, ab origine ultimâ ſtirpis Romanæ generatus, perpetuo à majoribus acceptam equeſtrem obtinuit dignitatem. Patre uſus eſt diligente, indulgente, & ut tum erant tempora, diti, imprimiſque ſtudioſo literarum: Hic, prout ipſe amabat literas, omnibus doctrinis, quibus puerilis ætas impertiri debet, filium erudivit. Erat autem in puero præter docilitatem ingenii, ſumma ſuavitas oris ac vocis, ut non ſolùm celeriter arriperet quæ tradebantur, ſed etiam excellenter pronunciaret; quâ ex re in puéritiâ nobilis inter æquales ferebatur, clariùſque exſplendeſcebat, quàm generoſi condiſcipuli animo æquo ferre poſſent; itaque incitabat omnes ſuo ſtudio, quo in numero fuerunt

XXV.

The Life of T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS, *out of* Cornelius Nepos.

CHAP. I.

POMPONIUS Atticus, deſcended of an ancient Roman Family, kept the *Equeſtrian Dignity, received by uninterrupted Succeſſion from his Anceſtors. He had a diligent* and *indulgent Father, and, as the Times were then, rich, and, above all Things, a Lover of Learning: As he loved Learning* himſelf, *he inſtructed his Son in all that Sort of Literature that Youth ought to be acquainted with. There was in* him when *a Boy, beſides a Docility of Wit, a mighty Sweetneſs of Mouth and Voice, that he not only quickly took in what was taught him, but alſo pronounced excellently; upon which Account he was reckoned famous amongſt his Fellows in his Childhood, and ſhone out more brightly than his noble School-fellows were able to bear with a patient Mind; wherefore*

* The Roman People were divided into three Orders, the Plebeian, Equeſtrian, and Senatorian: Thoſe, whoſe Eſtates were 400,000 Seſterces (upwards of 300 Pounds) were reckoned of the Equeſtrian Order, till they were choſen into the Senate, and then they were of the Senatorian. Atticus's Anceſtors had never any of them been in the Senate, and he, treading in their Steps, declined all Preferment.

fuerunt L. Torquatus, C. Marius filius, M. Cicero, quos conſuetudine ſuâ ſic ſibi devinxit, ut nemo iis perpetuò fuerit carior.

wherefore he puſhed them all forward by his great Applications; in which Number was L. Torquatus, C. Marius the Son, M. Cicero, whom he ſo engaged to him by his Acquaintance with them, that nobody was all along more dear to them.

CAP. II. Pater maturè deceſſit. Ipſe adoleſcentulus propter affinitatem P. Sulpicii, qui Tribunus pl. interfectus eſt, non expers fuit illius periculi: namque Anicia, Pomponii conſobrina, nupſerat M. Servio fratri P. Sulpicii. Itaque interfecto Sulpitio, poſteaquam vidit Cinnano tumultu civitatem eſſe perturbatam, neque ſibi dari facultatem pro dignitate vivendi, quin alterutram partem offenderet, diſſociatis animis civium; cùm alii Syllanis, alii Cinnanis faverent partibus, idoneum tempus ratus ſtudiis obſequendi ſuis, Athenas ſe contulit: neque eo ſeciùs adoleſcentem Marium hoſtem, judicatum, juvit opibus ſuis; cujus fugam pecuniâ ſublevavit. Ac, nè illa peregrinatio detrimentum aliquod afferet rei familiaris, eodem magnam partem fortunarum trajecit ſuarum. Hìc ita vixit, ut univerſis Athenienſibus meritò eſſet cariſſimus: Nam, præter gratiam, quæ jam adoleſcentulo magna erat, ſæpe ſuis

CHAP. II. *His Father died early. He being a very young Man, by Reaſon of his Affinity with P. Sulpicius, who was ſlain* when *Tribune of the Commons, was not clear of that Danger; for Anicia, the Couſin of Pomponius, had married M. Servius, the Brother of Sulpicius: Wherefore P. Sulpicius being ſlain, after he found the City mightily diſturbed with the Buſtle raiſed by Cinna, and that there was no Poſſibility for him to live ſuitably to his Dignity, but he muſt offend one Party or the other, the Minds of his Countrymen being divided; whilſt ſome favoured Sylla's Party, and others Cinna's; thinking it a proper Time to follow his Studies, he withdrew himſelf to Athens: but nevertheleſs he aſſiſted young Marius, declared an Enemy, with his Eſtate; and relieved* him in *his Baniſhment with Money. And, leſt that his living Abroad ſhould prove* a *Detriment to his Eſtate, he carried over to the ſame Place a great Part of his Subſtance. Here he lived ſo, that he was deſervedly very dear to all the Athenians: For, beſides his* * *Intereſt, which*

* By *Gratia* is here meant the Intereſt he had amongſt ſeveral of the leading Men at Rome, by which he was in a Condition of ſerving the Athenians ſeveral Ways.

ſuis opibus inopiam eorum publicam levavit: Cum enim verſuram facere publicè neceſſe eſſet, neque eius conditionem æquam haberent, ſemper ſe interpoſuit, atque ita, uti neque uſuram unquam ab iis acceperit, neque longius quàm dictum eſſet, eos debere paſſus ſit; quod utrumque erat iis ſalutare: nam neque indulgendo inveteraſcere eorum æs alienum patiebatur, neque multiplicandis uſuris creſcere. Auxit hoc officium aliâ quoquè liberalitate; nam univerſos frumento donavit, ita ut ſingulis VI. modii tritici darentur, qui modus menſuræ *Medimnus* Athenis appellatur.

which was already conſiderable in him, tho' *a very young Man, he often relieved their public* *Want *out of his own Eſtate: For when the Government was obliged to* * *borrow Money to pay off a publick Debt, and could have no fair Offer for it, he always interpoſed, and ſo, that he neither ever received any Uſe of them, nor ſuffered them to owe him* the Money *longer than had been agreed; both which Things were very good for them: for he neither ſuffered their Debts to grow old* upon them, *by forbearing* them, *nor to increaſe by the multiplying of Uſe. He added to this Kindneſs by another* Piece of *Generoſity too; for he preſented them* † *all with Corn, ſo that ſix* ‡ *Modii of Wheat were given to every Man, which Kind of Meaſure is called a Medimnus at Athens.*

CAP. III. Hic autem ſic ſe gerebat, ut communis infimis, par principibus videretur; quo factum eſt, ut huic omnes honores, quos poſſent, publicè haberent, civemque facere ſtuderent: quo beneficio ille uti noluit: quod nonnulli ita interpretantur, amitti civitatem Romanum aliâ adſcita. Quamdiu affuit, ne

CHAP. III. *He likewiſe behaved ſo, that he ſeemed upon a Level with the Loweſt*, and yet *equal to the Greateſt; from whence it was, that they publicly conferred upon him all the Honours which they could, and endeavoured to make him a Freeman of their City; which Kindneſs he would not accept; becauſe ſome conſtrue* the Matter *ſo, that the Freedom of Rome*

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* *Verſura* ſignifies borrowing of one to pay another; which has no Word to anſwer it in our Language.

† Our Author has here expreſſed himſelf very careleſsly; to be ſure, he did not preſent them all, *Univerſos*, but only the poorer Sort; it would have been ſo far from a Kindneſs, that it would have been a moſt ſtupid Affront, to have offered a Largeſs of a few Pecks of Corn to People of Quality, or any tolerable Faſhion.

‡ A *Modius* is reckoned by ſome to be about two Pecks.

ne qua ſibi ſtatua poneretur, reſtitit; abſens, prohibere, non potuit: Itaque aliquot ipſi & Piliæ, locis ſanctiſſimis poſuerunt; hinc enim in omni procuratione Reip. actorem, auctoremque habebant. Igitur primum illud munus fortunæ, quod in eâ potiſſimum urbe natus eſt, in quâ domicilium orbis terrarum eſſet imperii, ut eandem & patriam haberet, & domum: Hoc ſpecimen prudentiæ, quòd cùm in eam ſe civitatem contuliſſet, quæ antiquitate, humanitate, doctrinâ præſtaret omnes ei unus ante alios fuerit cariſſimus.

Rome is loſt by taking another. As long as he was there, he made ſuch *Oppoſition, that no Statue was erected for him*; when *abſent, he could not hinder it: Wherefore they ſet up ſome both for him and Pilia, in the moſt ſacred Places; for in the whole Management of their Government, they had him for their Adviſer and Agent. Wherefore that* was *an eſpecial Favour of Fortune, that he was born in that City, above others, in which was the Seat of the Empire of the World, that he had the ſame both for his Native Place, and his Home: This* was *a Specimen of his Prudence, that when he withdrew himſelf into that City, which excelled all* others *in Antiquity, Politeneſs, and Learning, he was ſingly very dear to it above all others.*

Cap. IV. Huc ex Aſiâ Sylla decedens cùm veniſſet; quamdiu ibi fuit, ſecum habuit Pomponium, captus adoleſcentis & humanitate & doctrinâ; ſic enim Græcè loquebatur, ut Athenis natus videretur: tanta autem erat ſuavitas ſermonis Latini, ut appareret in eo nativum quendam leporem eſſe, non adſcitum. Idem poëmata pronunciabat & Græcè & Latinè ſic, ut ſuprà nihil poſſet. Quibus rebus factum eſt, ut Sylla nunquam eum à ſe demitteret, cupieretque ſecum deducere; cui cùm perſuadere tentaret, *Noli oro te* (inquit

Chap. IV. *When Sylla was come hither in his Departure from Aſia, ſo long as he was there, he kept Pomponius with him, charmed with the Politeneſs and Learning of the Youth; for he ſpoke Greek ſo, that he ſeemed to have been born at Athens: But ſuch was the Sweetneſs of his Latin Dialect, that it appeared there was a certain natural Pleaſantneſs in him, not acquired. The ſame Man pronounced Poems both in Greek and Latin ſo, that nothing could* be *beyond it. For which Things it was, that Sylla would never part with him from him, and was deſirous take him along with him* to Rome; *whom when he endeavoured to perſuade* to that,

Do

quit Pomponius) *adverſum eos me vellere ducere, cum quibus ne contra te arma ferram, Italiam reliqui.* At Sylla adoleſcentis officio collaudato, omnia munera ei, quæ Athenis acceperat, proficiſcenti juſſit, deferri. Hìc complures annos moratus, cùm & rei familiari tantum operæ daret, quantùm non indiligens deberet paterfamilias, & omnia reliqua tempora aut literis, aut Athenienſium Reip. tribuerit; nihilominus amicis urbana officio præſtitit: nam & ad comitia eorum ventitavit, & ſi qua res major acta eſt, non defuit; ſicut Ciceroni in omnibus ejus periculis ſingularem fidem præbuit: cui ex patriâ fugienti LL.S. CC. & quinquaginta millia donavit. Tranquillatis autem rebus

Do not, I beſeech you (*ſays Pomponius*) deſire to lead me againſt thoſe, with whom that I might not bear Arms againſt you, I left Italy. *But Sylla commending the Behaviour of the young Man, upon his Departure, ordered all the Preſents, which he had received at Athens, to be carried to him. Having ſtaid here ſeveral Years, whilſt he employed as much Care upon his Eſtate as a diligent Maſter of a Family ought* to do, *and beſtowed all the reſt of his Time either upon Books, or the Government of the Athenians*; * *notwithſtanding he performed* all manner of *good Offices in the City of Rome to his Friends: for he both came frequently to their Elections, and, if any important Matter* of theirs *was tranſacted, was not wanting; as he ſhewed a ſingular Faithfulneſs to Cicero in all his Dangers; to whom* when

* I am ſomewhat ſurpriſed to find this Paſſage thus tranſlated by Major Pack, "He found many Opportunities to perform very im-"portant Services to his Friends on the ſuffering Side; he frequent-"ly aſſiſted at their private Rendezvous." Our Author is not here talking of his Friends on the ſuffering Side, *i. e.* on the Side of Marius; but of his Friends in general, or rather thoſe on the conquering Side; for ſuch alone, during the Tyranny of Sylla, were permitted to ſue for the great Offices of the Government, and ſuch he here means, as is plain from what follows, *Ad comitia eorum ventitavit*; which is not to be rendered, "Aſſiſted at their private Ren-"dezvous." Words hardly intelligible; but in the ſame Manner, or to the ſame Purpoſe, as I have done; *comitia* never ſignifying any Thing elſe than Meetings of the People for their Choice of Magiſtrates, enacting Laws, or Public Trials. The Relative Pronoun, *eorum* ſeems to reſtrain it to the firſt Kind, Meetings of the People for the Choice of Magiſtrates or Elections. The Major has miſtaken too the Senſe of *Urbana Officia*, which ſignifies here ſuch Services or good Offices, as were confined to the City of Rome, and could,

rebus Romanis, remigravit Romam, ut opinor, L. Cottâ, & L. Torquato COSS. quem diem ſic univerſa civitas Athenienſium proſecuta eſt, ut lacrymis deſiderii futuri dolorem indicaret.

when * *baniſhed his Country, he preſented two hundred and fifty thouſand* † *Seſterces. But after the Roman Affairs were pretty well ſettled, he returned to Rome, as I think, when L. Cotta and L. Torquatus were Conſuls; which Day the whole City of the Athenians did ſo obſerve, that they diſcovered by their Tears their Sorrow for their future Loſs.*

CAP. V. Habebat avunculum, Q. Cæcilium, equitem Romanum, familiarem L. Luculli, divitem, difficillimâ naturâ; cujus ſic aſperitatem veritus eſt, ut quem nemo ferre poſſet, hujus ſine offenſione ad ſummam ſenectutem retinuerit benevolentiam; quo facto tulit pietatis

CHAP. V. *He had an Uncle, Q. Cecilius, a Roman Knight, a Friend of L. Lucullus, rich, but of a very rugged Temper; whoſe Peeviſhneſs he bore ſo meekly, that he kept* in *his Favour, without any Offence* given, *to an extreme Age, whom nobody elſe was able to bear with; for which he reaped the Fruit of his* † *dutiful Behaviour* towards

could not elſewhere be performed at all, or ſo effectually, ſuch as waiting upon the Candidates to the Forum, or in their Rounds about the Town, making of Intereſt among the Citizens for them: Theſe and the like are the *Urbana Officia* here ſpoken of. I make not this Remark to depreciate Mr. Pack's Performance, which is as good, at leaſt, if not better than any Thing of the Kind I ever read; but to do Juſtice to Cornelius Nepos, and myſelf too, who might otherwiſe be condemned, upon the Authority of Mr. Pack, as having here groſsly miſtaken the Senſe of my Author.

* I choſe to render *fugienti ex patriâ*, being baniſhed out of his Country: Major Pack's Tranſlation, *being obliged to fly his Country*, is, to my Thinking, too general to convey the Author's Meaning to ſuch as are unacquainted with Cicero's Story; he uſes the Word *fugio* here, as the Greeks do their Verb φεύγω, which is commonly put for being baniſhed, ſometimes with the Accuſative πατρίδα, but oftener, I think, without.

‡ A Seſterce was the fourth Part of a Denarius, which was about 8*d.* of our Money; the whole Sum therefore here mentioned is near upon 2000 Pounds.

† *Pietas*, I render, dutiful Behaviour. Piety, which is Major Pack's Tranſlation of the Word, has nothing at all to do here. See Note the firſt, on the firſt Chapter of Dion's Life.

pietatis fructum. Cæcilius enim moriens teſtamento adoptavit eum, hæredemque fecit ex dodrante; ex quâ hæreditate accipit ciciter centies LSS. Erat nupta ſoror Attici Q. Tullio Ciceroni, eaſque nuptias M. Cicero conciliârat; cum quo à condiſcipulatu vivebat conjunctiſſimè, multò, etiam familiariùs quàm cum Quinto: ut judicari poſſit, plùs in amicitiâ valere ſimilitudinem morum, quàm affinitatem. Utebatur autem intimè Q. Hortenſio, qui iis temporibus principatum eloquentiæ tenebat, ut intelligi non poſſet, uter eum plùs diligeret, Cicero an Hortenſius; & id, quod erat difficillimum, efficiebat, ut inter quos tantæ laudis eſſet æmulatio, nulla intercederet obtrectatio: eſſetque talium virorum copula.

towards *him. For Cecilius*, when *dying, adopted him by his Will, and made him Heir to* * *Three-Fourths of his Eſtate; by which Inheritance he got about a hundred Times a hundred thouſand* † *Seſterces. The Siſter of Atticus was married to Q. Tullius Cicero, and M. Cicero had made up the Match; with whom he lived in a very cloſe Friendſhip from* the Time of *their being School-fellows, and much more familiarly than with Quintus; that it may be* thereby *judged, that a Similitude of Manners does more in Friendſhip than Affinity. He was likewiſe intimate with Q. Hortenſius, who in thoſe Times had the higheſt Reputation for Eloquence, that it could not be underſtood whether* of them *loved him more, Cicero or Hortenſius; and he effected that which was very difficult, that there was no Endeavour to leſſen one another paſſed* betwixt thoſe, *betwixt whom there was a Rivalry for ſo conſiderable* a Prize of *Fame: and he was the Inſtrument of Union betwixt thoſe great Men.*

CAP. CHAP.

* *Dodrans* is nine *unciæ* or Twelfths of the Roman *As*, which was originally a large Braſs Coin, almoſt an Engliſh Pound; but by ſeveral Reduction brought at laſt to one four and twentieth Part of that Weight. An Eſtate was likewiſe termed *As*, and divided into twelve Parts, called *unciæ*, and accordingly *hæres ex aſſe*, was Heir to the whole Eſtate, *hæres ex dodrante* was Heir to nine *unciæ* or Twelfths, *i. e.* Three Fourths of the Eſtate.

† *Seſtertius*, as I have already remarked, is near upon two Pence of our Money; *Seſtertium* ſignifies a thouſand *Seſtertii*: According to the Roman Way of Reckoning, after a numeral Adverb is always to be underſtood a hundred Thouſand; ſo that *centies LSS.* is a hundred Times a hundred Thouſand Seſterces, or ten Millions, *i. e.* 70,000 Pounds of our Money nearly. It ſeems ſtrange the Romans ſhould uſe no higher a Denomination, than that of a twopenny Piece, in their Reckoning of Money; it muſt have rendered Accounts high, and troubleſome enough.

CAP. VI. In Repub. ita eſt verſatus, ut ſemper optimarum partium & eſſet, & exiſtimaretur; neque tamen ſe civilibus fluctibus committeret, quòd non magis eos in ſuâ poteſtate exiſtimabat eſſe, qui ſe iis dediſſent, quàm qui maritimis jactarentur. Honores non petiit, cùm ei paterent propter vel gratiam, vel dignitatem; quòd neque peti more majorum, neque capi poſſent, conſervatis legibus, in tam effuſis ambitûs largitionibus; neque geri è republicâ ſine periculo, corruptis civitatis moribus. Ad haſtam publicam nunquam acceſſit. Nullius rei neque præs, neque manceps factus eſt. Neminem neque ſuo nomine, neque ſubſcribens accuſavit. In jus de ſuâ re nunquam iit; judicium

CHAP. VI. *He behaved himſelf ſo in the Commonwealth, that he both always was and was reckoned of the* * *Party of the Quality; and yet he would not engage himſelf in civil Broils, becauſe he did not think them to be more in their own Power, who truſted themſelves upon thoſe* Waves, *than they who were toſſed about by the* Waves *of the Sea. He did not ſue for any Preferment in the State, though it lay ready for him, by reaſon either of his Intereſt or Quality; becauſe it could neither be ſued for after the Manner of our Anceſtors, nor be attained, if the Laws were obſerved, in ſo prodigious an Extravagance of Corruption; nor be managed to the Service of the Commonwealth without Danger, the Manners of the Citybeing* ſo much *depraved. He never came to a public* † *Sale. He never became* § *Surety for, nor a Farmer of, any Part of the public Revenue.*

* Major Pack renders *Optimarum partium*, by right Side; but in my Opinion, thoſe Words can ſignify nothing but the beſt or a very good Side or Party; which would imply, that there were more Parties than two in Rome, which is falſe. *Optimarum* is undoubtedly a wrong Reading for *Optimatum*. See Note the firſt, on the ſixth Chapter of Dion's Life.

† He means chiefly the Sale of the Eſtates of ſuch as were taken off in the Proſcription of that barbarous Butcher Sylla. Atticus in that acted the Part of a generous Man, and a Lover of his Country, that ſcorned to encreaſe his Eſtate out of the Spoils taken from his innocent Fellow-Citizens. In thoſe Sales it was uſual for the Præco, or the Perſon that ſuperintended and managed the Sale, to fix down a Spear by him, which is the Reaſon of our Author's wording himſelf as he does.

§ *Manceps* properly ſignifies a Farmer of the Public Revenue, as the Cuſtoms, Taxes, &c. and *Præs* a Perſon bound to the Government for the Farmer's due Performance of his Bargain.

cium nullum habuit. Multorum Conſulum Prætorumque præfecturas delatas ſic accepit, ut neminem in provinciam ſic ſecutus; honore fuerit contentus, rei familiaris deſpexerit fructum; qui ne cum Q. quidem Cicerone valuerit ire in Aſiam, cùm apud eum legati locum obtinere poſſet; non enim decere ſe arbitrabatur, cùm Prætoram genere noluiſſet, aſſeclam eſſe Prætoris: quâ in re non ſolum dignitati ſerviebat, ſed etiam tranquillitati, cùm ſuſpiciones quoque vitaret criminum: quo fiebat, ut ejus obſervantia omnibus eſſet carior, cùm

*Revenue. He never * accuſed any one in his own Name, nor* in the Quality of *a Subſcriber* or Aſſiſtant. *He never went to Law about any Thing of his own; had no Trial. He ſo accepted of the Commiſſions of ſeveral Conſuls and Pretors, when offered him, that he followed none of them into his Province; was content with the Honour, he deſpiſed the Improvement of his Eſtate; who would not indeed go along with Q. Cicero into Aſia, though he might have had the Poſt of † Lieutenant-General under him; for he did not think it became him, ſince he would not bear the Office of Pretor, to be an Attendant upon a Pretor: In which Thing he not only conſulted his*

* When any Perſon of Figure was impeached of any Crime, there were uſually ſeveral Managers of the Trial againſt him; but yet the Burden lay chiefly upon one Perſon, who preferred the Bill of Indictment, or Impeachment, to the Pretor or Lord Chief Juſtice, with his Name to it, and was called *Accuſator*. Others, that had a Mind to countenance the Matter, and give their Aſſiſtance for the Management of the Cauſe, ſubſcribed their Name, but either ſpoke but very little, or not at all in the Court; the Buſineſs of ſpeaking there belonged chiefly, if not ſolely, to the *Accuſator*. What Major Pack means by tranſlating this Paſſage, "He never openly or privately accuſed any Man," I cannot tell. Was I as much at Liberty in my Tranſlation as the Major was, I ſhould have turned it thus; "He never was concerned in the Proſecution of an Indictment againſt any Perſon, either as principal Manager of the Trial, or Aſſiſtant."

† Mr. Pack tranſlates *Legatus* by Legate or General Officer, as if theſe were Words of the ſame Import in our Language. How far the Title of General Officer may extend, the Major knows much better than I; and becauſe I am ſomewhat uncertain about it, I chooſe to make uſe of the Word Lieutenant-General; becauſe that, I take it, the Word *Legatus* ſignifies here, and that only; a *Legatus* in the Roman Armies was next to the General in Power, and uſed to command, by the General's Appointment, ſome Part of the Army in the Day of Battle, and likewiſe the Whole in the General's Abſence. There were ſeveral of them in an Army.

cùm eam officio, non timori, neque ſpei tribui viderent.

his Dignity, but likewiſe his Quiet, ſince he avoided even the Suſpicions of Crimes: From whence it was, that his Reſpect was the more dear to all People, when they ſaw that it proceeded from Kindneſs, not Fear or Hope.

CAP. VII. Incidit Cæſarianum civile bellum, cùm haberet annos circiter ſexaginta. Uſus eſt ætatis vacatione, neque ſe quòquam movit ex urbe. Quæ amicis ſuis opus fuerant ad Pompeium proficiſcentibus, omnia ex ſuâ re familiari dedit. Ipſum Pompeium conjunctum non offendit, nullum enim ab eo habebat ornamentum, ut cæteri, qui per eum aut honores, aut divitias ceperant; quorum partim invitiſſimi caſtra ſunt ſecuti, partim ſummâ cum ejus offenſione domi remanſerunt: Attici autem quies tantopere Cæſari fuit grata, ut victor, cùm privatus pecunias per epiſtolas imperaret, huic non ſolùm moleſtus non fuerit, ſed etiam ſororis & Q. Ciceronis filium ex Pompeii caſtris conceſſerit. Sic vetere inſtituto vitæ, effugit nova pericula.

CHAP. VII. *Cæſar's Civil War fell out, when he was about ſixty Years old. He made uſe of the Privilege of his Age, nor did he ſtir any whither out of the Town. He gave all Things that were neceſſary for his Friends, upon their going to Pompey, out of his own Eſtate. He did not offend Pompey, tho' a Friend; for he had no Obligation from him, as others, who by him had got either great Poſts or Riches; Part of which followed his Camp very unwillingly, Part ſtaid at Home, to the great Offence of him: But Atticus's keeping quiet was ſo agreeable to Cæſar, that* after he was *Conqueror, when he commanded* ſeveral *private Gentlemen by Letters* to furniſh him with *Money, he was not only not troubleſome to him, but likewiſe gave him out of Pompey's Comp the Son of his Siſter and Quintus Cicero. Thus by his old Way of Life, he avoided new Dangers.*

CAP. VIII. Secutum eſt illud. Occiſo Cæſare, cùm Reſpub. penes Brutos videretur eſſe & Caſſium, ac tota civitas ſe ad eum convertiſſe videretur; ſic M. Bruto

CHAP. VIII. Then *followed this.* After *Cæſar* was *ſlain, when the Government ſeemed to be in the Hands of the Brutus's and Caſſius, and the whole City was ſeen to turn themſelves toward them;*

Bruto uſus eſt, ut nullo ille adoleſcens æquali familiariùs, quàm hoc ſene; neque ſolùm eum principem conſilii haberet, ſed etiam in convictu. Excogitatum eſt à quibuſdam, ut privatum ærarium Cæſaris interfectoribus ab equitibus Romanis conſtitueretur: id facilè effici poſſe arbitrari ſunt, ſi & principes illius ordinis pecunias contuliſſent. Itaque appellatus eſt à C. Flavio, Bruti familiari, Atticus, ut ejus rei princeps eſſe vellet: at ille, qui officia amicis præſtanda ſine factione exiſtimaret, ſemperque à talibus ſe conſiliis removiſſet, reſpondit, Si quid Brutus de ſuis facultatibus uti voluiſſet, uſurum, quantum ea paterentur: ſed neque cum quoquam de eâ re collocuturum, neque coïturum. Sic ille conſcenſionis globus hujus unius diſſenſione diſjectus eſt. Neque multò pòſt ſuperior eſſe cœpit Antonius; ita ut Brutus & Caſſius, provinciarum, quæ dicis iis cauſâ datæ erant à con-

* *them*; *he was ſo kind with M. Brutus, that that young Gentleman had more Intimacy with none of his own Age than with that old Gentleman*; *and not only uſed him as his principal Counſellor, but* had *him* pretty conſtantly *at his Table. It was projected by ſome, that* a Sort of *private Fund ſhould be ſettled by the Roman Knights for the Aſſaſſinators of Cæſar: They thought that might eaſily be effected, if the leading Perſons of that Order would contribute Money* towards it. *Wherefore Atticus was ſpoke to by C. Flavius, Brutus's Friend, that he would be the Beginner of that Matter*; *but he, who thought good Offices were to be performed to his Friends without* Regard to *Party, and had always kept himſelf at a Diſtance from ſuch Cabals, replied, That if Brutus had a Mind to make any Uſe of his Eſtate, he might uſe it, as far as it would bear*; *but that he would neither confer, nor have a Meeting with any one upon that Affair. Thus this Ball of Agreement was daſhed in Pieces by the Diſſent of him alone. And not long after Antony began to be uppermoſt*; ſo

* The Reading here is *eum*; but I think it ſhould be *eos*, and have tranſlated according; for no good Reaſon, I think, can be given why the Eyes of the whole City ſhould be turned upon Atticus, a private Gentleman; but a very good one, why they ſhould be turned upon the Brutus's and Caſſius, becauſe they ſeemed to be now Men of the greateſt Power and Intereſt in the whole Commonwealth.

conſulibus, deſperatis rebus, in exilium proficiſcerentur. Atticus, qui pecuniam ſimul cum cæteris conferre noluerat florenti illi parti, abjecto Bruto, Italiâque cedenti LLS. centum millia muneri miſit; eidem in Epiro abſens CCC. juſſit dari: neque eò magis potenti adulatus eſt Antonio, neque deſperatos reliquit.

CHAP.

*ſo * that Brutus and Caſſius, their Caſe being deſperate, went into the Provinces which had been given them by the Conſuls,* as it were *into Baniſhment. Atticus, who would not contribute Money, together with the reſt, to that Party,* when *flouriſhing, ſent as a Preſent a hundred thouſand Seſterces to Brutus, in Diſtreſs, and retiring out of Italy; and ordered three hundred thouſand more to be given him in Epire; nor did he therefore flatter Antony* now *in Power, nor leave thoſe* that were *in a deſperate Condition.*

CHAP.

* The Text is here moſt vilely corrupted: 1ſt, *Provinciarum* ſhould, I think, be *in Provincias*, as ſome Criticks would have it, for thither it is certain they did go; that is, into Macedonia and Syria; beſides *rebus Provinciarum deſperatis*, can ſignify nothing, in my Mind, but the Caſe or Condition of the Provinces being looked upon as deſperate, *i. e.* by them; which had it been true, as it was not, would be a ſtrange Kind of Reaſon for their going into Baniſhment, and into thoſe very Provinces; the Provinces were in no Danger; they found, and raiſed together, conſiderable Armies there; enough, any one would have then thought to have chaſed the three Tyrants, Antony, Lepidus, and Cæſar, out of the Roman Empire. 2dly, *Dicis Cauſâ*, for Form's Sake, cannot ſtand, becauſe not true. Thoſe Provinces had been given them by Cæſar, and confirmed to them by the Senate, not in formal empty Ceremony, or Compliment, whilſt they were at Bottom never intended for them, but ſeriouſly, and out of Regard to the Public Intereſt; which required that two of the richeſt Provinces of the Roman Empire, and the beſt provided with Troops, ſhould be in able and truſty Hands, well affected to the Public Liberty, and ſuch as the honeſt Party could depend upon, at ſo dangerous a Juncture. This our Author knew as well any Body, and therefore could not be guilty of ſaying, the Provinces were given them *Dicis Cauſâ*. Nor will the other Reading *Necis* do, without the Word *Cæſaris*, though I ſomewhat queſtion even the Propriety of that Expreſſion; however, without that Addition, the Word *Necis* can relate to none but the Perſons mentioned, according to the conſtant Uſage of the Latin Tongue; and then the Senſe will be

[illegible] V. [illegible] After this [illegible]
[illegible] *I only ſay* [illegible]
[illegible] *and he was* [illegible]
[illegible] *which is* [illegible]
[illegible] *Fortune, is to be* [illegible]
[illegible] *Nature, being* [illegible]
[illegible] *Eſtate of reſting* [illegible]
[illegible] *Enemies, the* [illegible]
[illegible] *becauſe his* [illegible]
[illegible] *themſelves with* [illegible]
[illegible] *and hated thy* [illegible]
[illegible] *their Advantage to* [illegible]
[illegible] *Miſchief; they* [illegible]
[illegible] *ſought to* [illegible]
[illegible] *Vile Fiction of any* [illegible]
Thing

[illegible] given them upon Account [illegible] look very much like the Senſe [illegible] Cuſtoms for Provinces were never [illegible] but either by Lot [illegible] People.

Compare this Paſſage with another in the Cloſe of the 16th Chapter, where he ſpeaks of preſaging Events by Foreſight, ſays, *Præſagium* [illegible] I am very inclinable to think that Divinatio here is a falſe Reading for Divinitus, which is the true. I believe no one will think it ſo ſenſeleſs. Perhaps ſome ignorant Perſon, finding the two Words ſignifying alike, has ſet it down in the Margin, which Correction at laſt got into the Text. I have put the Text according to the preſent Reading. It is Nonſenſe. There is no Manner of Affinity or Similitude between Divination in the only Senſe it can here have, that of Preſaging or Foretelling by Virtue of a Divine Impulſe upon the Mind, or Inſpiration; I ſay, there is no Manner of Likeneſs betwixt *Divinatio* in that Senſe, and the unalterable Goodneſs of Humanity in Atticus, which the Author is here commending, and conſequently no Foundation for ſuch an Application of the Word *Divinatio*. If we read *Divinitus*, for *Divinatio*, the Senſe will be then what I have expreſſed in my Tranſlation.

bus ſpoliare cupiebat; liberos etiam extinguere parabant. Atticus, cùm Ciceronis intimâ familiaritate uteretur, amiciſſimus eſſet Bruto, non modo nihil iis indulſit ad Antonium violandum; ſed è contrario familiares ejus, ex urbe profugientes, quantùm potuit, texit; quibus rebus indiguerunt, adjuvit. P. verò Volumnio ea tribuit, ut plura à parente proficiſci non potuerint. Ipſi autem Fulviæ, cum litibus diſtineretur, magniſque terroribus vexaretur, tantâ diligentiâ officium ſuum præſtitit, ut nullum illa ſteterit vadimonium ſine Attico; hic ſponſor omnium rerum fuerit: Quinetiam, cùm illa fundum ſecundâ fortunâ emiſſet in diem, neque poſt calamitatem verſuram facere potuiſſet, ille ſe interpoſuit, pecuniamque, ſine fœnore, ſineque ulla ſtipulatione ei credidit, maximum exiſtimans

Thing; and *endeavoured too to deſtroy his Children. Atticus, though he had an intimate Familiarity with Cicero*, and *was a very great Friend to Brutus, not only complied with them in nothing for the miſuſing of Antony: but on the contrary protected, as much as he could, his Friends flying out of the City*; and *aſſiſted them with what Things they wanted. He did theſe Things for P. Volumnius, that more could not have come from a Father. But he performed his* good *Offices with ſo much Care to Fulvia herſelf, when ſhe was* * *embarraſſed with Law-ſuits, and harraſſed with great Terrours, that ſhe never appeared upon Bail without Atticus; he was in all Caſes her Bondſman: Moreover, when ſhe had bought an Eſtate in her Proſperity* to be paid for *by a certain Day, and could not take up Money for it, after this unhappy Turn, he interpoſed, and truſted her the Money without Uſe, or* † *requiring any formal Promiſe*

* *Diſtineo* ſeems originally and properly to ſignify to faſten, or pin down a Thing, on ſeveral Sides, as in that Paſſage of Cæſar in B. 1. C. 15 of the Civil War: *Has (naves) quaternis ancoris ex quatuor angulis diſtinebat, ne fluctibus moverentur.* Thence it was put figuratively for embarraſs, encumber, *&c.* Thus we meet with *diſtentus bello, curis, occupationibus*, for a Perſon, whoſe Attention is wholly taken up, pinned down, as it were, to the Buſineſs of War, various Concerns or Employs, which keep the Mind, as it were, on all Sides attached to them, ſo as not to leave it at Liberty to move, ſtir, or apply itſelf to any Thing elſe.

† *Stipulor*, from whence the Noun *Stipulatio* comes, ſignifies to require, upon the Concluſion of a Bargain or Agreement, a Promiſe

mans quæſtum, memorem gratumque cognoſci; ſimulque aperire, ſe non fortunæ, ſed hominibus ſolere eſſe amicum; quæ cùm faciebat, nemo eum temporis cauſâ facere poterat exiſtimare. Nemini enim in opinionem veniebat, Antonium rerum potiturum. Sed ſenſus ejus à nonnullis optimatibus reprehendebatur, quòd parum odiſſe malos cives videretur.

Promiſe of Repayment, thinking it the greateſt Gain, to be found mindful and grateful, and at the ſame Time to ſhew the World, that he did not uſe to be a Friend to Fortune, but to Men; which when he did, nobody could think that he did it for Time-ſerving. For it came into nobody's Thought, that Antony would ever *have the Superiority* again. *But his Conduct was blamed by ſome of the* * *Party of the Quality, becauſe he ſeemed not ſufficiently to hate bad Citizens.*

CAP. X. Ille autem ſui judicii, potius, quid ſe facere par eſſet, intuebatur, quàm quid alii laudarent. Converſa ſubitò fortuna eſt. Ut Antonius rediit in Italiam, nemo non magno in periculo Atticum futurum putaret, propter intimam familiaritatem Ciceronis & Bruti; itaque ad adventum imperatorum de foro deceſſerat, timens proſcriptionem: latebatque apud

CHAP. X. *But he being* under the Guidance *of his own Judgment, regarded rather what was fit for him to do, than what others would commend. On a ſudden Fortune was changed. When Antony returned into Italy, every Body thought Atticus would be in great Danger, becauſe of the intimate Familiarity of Cicero and Brutus* with him; *wherefore upon the coming of the* † *Generals* to Town, *he had withdrawn from the Forum, fearing*

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miſe, by repeating, in clear and full Terms, the Subſtance of the Agreement, as in *Plautus*; *Dabiſne argenti mihi hodie viginti minas?* is a *Stipulatio*, to which the other Party anſwers *Dabo*. Atticus was ſo little concerned for the Security of his Money, that he did not ſo much as inſiſt upon a ſet formal Promiſe for the Repayment of it.

* Thoſe in Rome, that were for advancing the Power of the Senate, were called *Optimates*; and thoſe, on the other hand, that ſtood up for the Rights and Privileges of the People, were called *Populares*. In the former Party were the Gentry generally, in the latter the Populace.

† Antony, Lepidus, and Ceſar.

pud P. Volumnium, cui, ut oſtendimus paulo antè, opem tulerat. (Tanta varietas iis temporibus fuit fortunæ, ut modò hi, modò illi, in ſummo eſſent aut faſtigio, aut periculo.) Habebatque ſecum Q. Gellium Canium, æqualem, ſimillimumque ſui. Hoc quoquè ſit Attici bonitatis exemplum, quòd cum eo, quem puerum in ludo cognoverat, adeò conjunctè vixit, ut ad extremam ætatem amicitia eorum creverit. Antonius autem, etſi tanto odio ferebatur in Ciceronem, ut non ſolùm ei, ſed omnibus etiam ejus amicis eſſet inimicus, eoſque vellet proſcribere; multis hortantibus tamen, Attici memor fuit officii; et ei, cum requiſiſſet ubinam eſſet, ſuâ manu ſcripſit, ne timeret, ſtatimque ad ſe veniret: ſe eum, & Gellium Canium de proſcriptorum numero exemiſſe, ac, ne quod periculum incideret, quod noctu fiebat præſidium ei miſit. Sic Atticus in ſummo timore non ſolùm ſibi,

in the * *Proſcription; and abſconded with P. Volumnius, to whom he had given his Aſſiſtance, as I have ſhewn a little above. (So great was the Variety of Fortune in thoſe Times, that one while theſe, another while thoſe, were either in the greateſt Height* of Grandeur, *or the greateſt Danger.) And he had with him Q. Gellius Canius, equal in Age, and very much like himſelf. This likewiſe may be another Inſtance of Atticus's Goodneſs, that he lived in ſuch a cloſe Union with him, whom he had known* when *a Boy at School, that their Friendſhip grew* even *to their old Age. But Antony, though he was puſhed on with ſo great a Reſentment againſt* † *Cicero, that he was not an Enemy to him only, but to all his Friends, and tended to proſcribe them; yet, many* People *adviſing him* to it, *he was mindful of Atticus's Kindneſs; and when he had inquired where he was, wrote to him with his own Hand that he ſhould not fear, and that he ſhould come to him out of hand, that he had taken him, and Gellius Canius out of the Number*

* Proſcription was the poſting up of Gentlemen's Names in the moſt public Parts of Rome, with the Promiſe of a Reward to ſuch as ſhould bring their Heads. This abominable Butchery was firſt uſed by Sylla, ſpoken as above.

† This Cicero was a Perſon of the higheſt Abilities in Rome, a good Philoſopher, and the greateſt Maſter of Eloquence that ever lived; which fine Talent coſt him his Life: For having exerted it in ſeveral Harangues before the Senate againſt Antony, he ſo incenſed him, that nothing could ſatisfy him but the Head of the Speaker, which he got at laſt, though Cæſar ſtruggled a long Time to ſave him.

ſibi, ſed etiam ei, quem cariſſimum habebat, præſidio fuit: neque enim ſuæ ſolùm à quoquam auxilium petiit ſalutis, ſed conjunctim; ut appareret nullam ſejunctam ſibi ab eo velle eſſe fortunam: quòd ſi gubernator præcipuâ laude fertur, qui navem ex hyeme, marique ſcopuloſo ſervat: cur non ſingularis ejus exiſtimetur prudentia, qui ex tot, tamque gravibus procellis civilibus, ad incolumitatem pervenit?

of the Proſcribed; and that he might not fall into any Danger, which was then *uſual in the Night, he ſent him a Guard. Thus Atticus, under the utmoſt Apprehenſion, was not only a Security to himſelf, but alſo to him whom he held moſt dear: For he did not deſire Help,* in order *to his own Security only, but in Conjunction* with his Friend; *that it might appear that he had a Mind to have no Fortune apart from him: But if a Pilot is extolled with ſingular Commendation, who ſaves a Ship out of a Storm, and a rocky Sea; why ſhould not his Prudence be thought ſingular, who, out of ſo many and ſuch violent civil Storms, came to a State of Security?*

CAP. XI. Quibus ex malis ut ſe emerſit, nihil aliud egit, quam ut plurimis, quibus rebus poſſet, eſſet auxilio. Cùm proſcriptos, præmiis Imperatorum, vulgus conquireret, nemo in Epirum venit, cui res ulla defuerit: nemini non ibi perpetuo manendi poteſtas facta eſt. Quinetiam, poſt prælium Philippenſe, interitumque C. Caſſii, & M. Bruti, L. Julium Mocillam Prætorem, & filium ejus, Aulumque Torquatum, cæteroſque pari fortunâ perculſos inſtituit tueri, atque ex Epiro his omnia Samothraciam ſupportari juſſit. Difficile enim eſt omnia

CHAP. XI. *Out of which Diſtreſs after he had delivered himſelf, he minded nothing elſe but that he might be aiding to as many as poſſible, in what Things he could. Whilſt the common People ſought after the Proſcribed, upon the* promiſed *Rewards of the Generals, nobody came into Epire, to whom any Thing was wanting: Every one had a Convenience given them of ſtaying there conſtantly. Moreover, after the Battle of* * *Philippi, and the Death of C. Caſſius, and M. Brutus, he reſolved to protect L. Julius Mocilla the Prætor, and his Son, and A. Torquatus, and the reſt* that were *borne down by the like ill Fortune, and ordered all Neceſſaries to be carried to them*

* Philippi was a City of Macedonia, nigh the Borders of Thrace.

omnia perſequi, & non neceſſaria: Illud unum intelligi volumus, illius liberalitatem neque temporariam, neque callidam fuiſſe; id ex ipſis rebus ac temporibus judicari poteſt; quòd non florentibus ſe venditavit, ſed afflictis ſemper ſuccurrit; qui quidem Serviliam Bruti matrem, non minùs poſt mortem ejus, quàm florentem, coluerit. Sic liberalitate utens, nullas inimicitias geſſit, quod neque lædebat quenquam, neque ſi quam injuriam acceperat, malebat ulſciſci, quàm obliviſci. Idem immortali memoriâ recepta retinebat beneficia; quæ autem ipſe tribuerat, tamdiu meminerat, quoad ille gratus erat, qui acceperat: itaque hic fecit, ut verè dictum videatur, *Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam.* Neque tamen prius ille fortunam, quàm ſe, ipſe finxit, qui cavit, ne quâ in re jure plecteretur.

them from Epirus to * *Samothrace.* † *But it is difficult to run through all the Particulars* of this Kind, *and not* ‡ *neceſſary: We would have this one Thing underſtood, That his Generoſity was neither temporary nor ſlily intended; that may be diſcerned by the Things and Times themſelves; becauſe he did not make his Court to thoſe that were in a flouriſhing Condition, but always ſuccoured the Diſtreſſed; who treated with Honour Servilia the Mother of Brutus no leſs after his Death, than* when *in a flouriſhing Condition. Thus employing his Generoſity, he had no Quarrels* with any body, *becauſe he neither injured any one, nor if he had received any Injury, did he chuſe rather to revenge it, than forget it. The ſame* Man *kept in perpetual Remembrance Kindneſſes received; but what he himſelf beſtowed, he remembered ſo long as he was grateful that he had received them; wherefore this he effected* by his Behaviour; *that it ſeems to have been truly ſaid,* Every one's Manners make his Fortune; ‖ *neither*

CAP.

* Samothrace is an Iſland of the Egean Sea, nigh the Coaſt of Thrace.

† *Enim* ſeems to have been put here by the Heedleſſneſs of ſome Copier of Books for *Autem*; for what follows is no Reaſon of what goes before, as it ſhould be, if *enim* was the true Reading.

‡ This *Neceſſaria*, I think, ſhould be *neceſſariam*; for elſe I ſee not how it is poſſible to make Senſe of this Paſſage.

‖ What our Author here ſays, is, in my Opinion, very ſilly; *tamen* always intimates ſome ſeeming Oppoſition betwixt what goes before, and what follows; but there is ſo far from being any ſuch ſeeming Oppoſition here, that there is a very manifeſt Agreement, it following very evidently from the Maxim aforegoing, if true, that Atticus, to form his Fortune, muſt form himſelf firſt.

ther yet did he form his Fortune before he formed himſelf, who took Care that he ſhould not be juſtly puniſhed in any Caſe.

CAP. XII. His igitur rebus effecit, ut M. Vipſanius Agrippa, intimâ familiaritate conjunctus adoleſcenti Cæſari, cùm propter ſuam gratiam, & Cæſaris potentiam, nullius conditionis non haberet poteſtatem, potiſſimùm ejus diligeret affinitatem, præoptaretque equitis R. filiam generoſam nuptiis: atque harum nuptiarum conciliator fuit (non enim eſt celandum) M. Antonius, Triumvir Reip. conſtituendæ, cujus gratiâ cùm augere poſſeſſiones poſſet ſuas, tantùm abfuit à cupiditate pecuniæ, ut nullâ in re uſus ſit eâ niſi in deprecandis amicorum aut periculis, aut incommodis: quod quidem ſub ipſam proſcriptionem perilluſtre fuit: nam cùm L. Saufeii equitis R. æqualis fui, qui complures annos, ſtudio ductus philoſophiæ, Athenis habitabat, habebatque in Italiâ pretioſas poſſeſſiones, Triumviri bona vendidiſſent; conſuetudine eâ, quâ tum res gerebantur; Attici labore atque induſtriâ factum eſt, ut eodem nuntio

CHAP. XII. *By theſe Things therefore he brought it about, that M. Vipſanius Agrippa, united with the youth Cæſar in a cloſe Familiarity, who, by reaſon of his own Intereſt and Cæſar's Power, he had a Poſſibility of* attaining *any Match* whatever, *choſe his Affinity above all others, and preferred the Daughter of a Roman Knight before the Matches of the* * *moſt noble Ladies: And the Maker up of this Match was (for we muſt not conceal it) M. Antony, the Triumvir for ſettling the Commonwealth; by whoſe Intereſt when he might have increaſed his Poſſeſſions, he was ſo far from a greedy Deſire of Money, that he made uſe of that* Intereſt *in nothing, but begging off the Dangers and Troubles of his Friends; which was very remarkable in* the Time of *the Proſcription: For when the Triumviri, according to the Way in which Things were then managed, had ſold the Eſtate of L. Saufeius a Roman Knight, his Friend, who, moved by his Fancy for Philoſophy, lived ſeveral Years at Athens, and had in Italy valuable Poſſeſſions;*

* *Generoſæ* ſhould be, in my Opinion, *Generoſarum*; for though the Lady was of an Equeſtrian Family, yet ſince none of the Family had ever arrived at the Senatorian Order, ſhe could not be called *generoſa*, in Compariſon of many other Ladies in Rome that were far beyond her in Point of Quality.

tio Saufeius fieret certior, ſe patrimonium amiſiſſe, & recuperâſſe. Idem L. Julium Calidium, quem poſt Lucretii Catullique mortem, multò elegantiſſimum poëtam, noſtram tuliſſe ætatem, verè videor poſſe contendere; neque minùs virum bonum, optimiſque artibus eruditum; poſt proſcriptionem equitum, propter magnas ejus Africanas poſſeſſiones, in proſcriptorum numerum a P. Volumnio, præfecto fabrûm Antonii, abſentem relatum, expedivit; quod in præſenti, utrum ei laborioſius an glorioſius fuerit, difficile fuit judicare; quòd in eorum periculis non ſeciùs abſentes, quàm præſentes amicos Attico eſſe curæ, cognitum eſt.

ſeſſions; it was brought about by the Pains and Induſtry of Atticus, that Saufeius was made acquainted by the ſame Meſſage, that he had loſt his Eſtate, and recovered it. The ſame Perſon likewiſe brought off L. Julius Calidius, whom methinks I may truly affirm our Age has produced much the fineſt Poet, ſince the Death of Lucretius and Catullus; and no leſs a good Man, and ſkilled in the beſt Arts; after the Proſcription of the Knights, put into the Number of the Proſcribed, becauſe of his great Eſtate in Africa, by P. Volumnius, a Director of Antony's Engineers: which, whether it was more laborious or more glorious at that Time was hard to judge; becauſe it was obſerved that Atticus's Friends, in their Dangers were no leſs his Care when *abſent, than* when *preſent.*

Cap. XIII. Neque verò minùs ille vir bonus paterfamilias habitus eſt, quàm civis. Nam cùm eſſet pecunioſus, nemo illo minùs fuit emax, minùs ædificator; neque tamen non in primis bene habitavit, omnibuſque optimis rebus uſus eſt; nam domum habuit in colle Quirinali Tamphilanam, ab avunculo hæreditate relictam, cujus amœnitas non ædificio, ſed ſylvâ conſtabat ipſum enim tectum antiquitus conſtitutum plùs ſalis quàm ſumptûs habebat? in quo nihil

Chap. XIII. *Neither was this Gentleman reckoned a leſs good Maſter of a Family, than a Citizen. For tho' he was a monied Man, yet nobody was leſs addicted to buying, nor leſs a Builder; and yet he had a very convenient Dwelling, and had all Things* of *the very beſt. For he had the Tamphilan Houſe in the Quirinal Hill, an Eſtate left him by his Uncle, the Pleaſantneſs of which did not conſiſt in the Building* itſelf, *but in a Wood; for the Houſe itſelf, being old built, had more of Neatneſs than Expence* about it; *in which he changed nothing, unleſs he*

nihil commutavit, niſi ſi quid vetuſtate coactus eſt. Uſus eſt familiâ, ſi utilitate judicandum eſt, optimâ; ſi formâ, vix mediocri; namque in eâ erant pueri literatiſſimi, anagnoſte optimi, & plurimi librarii; ut ne pediſſequus quidam quiſquam eſſet, qui non utrumque horum pulchrè facere poſſet. Pari modo artifices cæteri, quos cultus domeſticus deſiderat, opprimè boni; neque tamen horum quenquam, niſi domi natum, domique factum, habuit; quod eſt ſignum non ſolùm continentiæ, ſed etiam diligentiæ: nam & non intemperanter concupiſcere, quod à plurimis videas, continentis debet duci; & potiùs diligentiâ, quàm pretio, parare, non mediocris eſt induſtriæ. Elegans, non magnificus; ſplendidus, non ſumptuoſus: omni diligentiâ munditiem non affluentem affectabat: ſuppellex modica, non multa, ut in neutram partem conſpici poſſet. Nec hoc præteribo, quanquam nonnullis leve viſum iri putem: cum in primis lautus eſſet eques Rom. & non parum liberaliter domum ſuam omnium ordinum homines invitaret; ſcimus non

he was forced by the Oldneſs of it. He had * *a Family of Servants, if we are to judge by Convenience very good; if by outward Appearance, ſcarcely indifferent; for in it were very learned Boys, very good Readers, and many Tranſcribers of Books; that there was not indeed any Footman, that could not do both theſe very well. In like Manner other Artiſts, which domeſtic Uſe requires,* were *extremely good; neither yet had he any of theſe, but* what was *born in his Houſe; and inſtructed in his Houſe: which is a Sign not only of Moderation, but Diligence: For not extravagantly to deſire, what you ſee* to be ſo deſired *by many, ought to be accounted* the Part *of a moderate Man; and to procure* Things *by Diligence, rather than Purchaſe, is a Matter of no ſmall Induſtry.* He was *elegant, not magnificent; ſplendid, not prodigal: He affected, with all* poſſible Care, *a Neatneſs* that was *not extravagant: His Furniture* was *moderate, not much; ſo as to be remarkable neither Way. Nor ſhall I paſs this by, although I ſuppoſe it may ſeem a ſlight Matter to ſome: Though he was a genteel Roman Knight, and invited, not a little generouſly, Men of all Ranks to his Houſe; we know that he did not uſe to reckon from his* † *Day-Book expendad*

* *Familia* is often, as here, put for the Servants of a Family only; and good Reaſon why, ſince the Word ſeems plainly derived from *famulus*, or elſe the latter from the former.

† It was uſual with the Romans to keep an exact Account of their

non ampliùs quam terna millia æris peræque, in ſingulos menſes, ex ephemeride eum expenſum ſumptui ferre ſolitum: que hoc non auditum, ſed cognitum prædicamus: ſæpe enim, propter familiaritatem, domeſticis rebus interfuimus.

CAP. XIV. Nemo in convivio ejus aliud ἀκρόαμα audivit, quàm anagnoſten; quod nos quidem jucundiſſimum arbitramur: neque unquam ſine aliquâ lectione apud eum cœnatum eſt; ut non minùs animo, quàm ventre, convivæ delectarentur; namque eos vocabat, quorum mores, à ſuis non abhorrerent. Cùm tantæ pecuniæ facta eſſet acceſſio, nihil de quotidiano cultu mutavit; nihil de vitæ conſuetudine: tantâque uſus eſt moderatione, ut neque in ſeſtertio vicies, quod à patre acceperat, parum ſe ſplendidè geſſerit; neque in ſeſtertio centies, affluentiùs vixerit, quàm inſtituerit: parique faſtidio fuerit in utrâque fortunâ.

pended more *than three thouſand* **Aſſes a Month, one with another: And this we affirm, not* as *a Thing heard, but a Certainty; becauſe we were often, by Reaſon of our Intimacy, actually preſent at the* Management of *his domeſtick Affairs.*

CHAP. XIV. * *Nobody ever heard any other* † *Entertainment for the Ears at his Meals than a Reader; which we truly think very pleaſant: nor was there ever a Supper at his Houſe, without ſome Reading; that his Gueſts might be entertained in their Minds, as well as their Stomachs; for he invited thoſe, whoſe Manners were not different from his own. And after ſo great an Addition was made to his Eſtate, he changed nothing of his daily Way of Life; nothing of his uſual Method of living; and uſed ſo much Moderation, that neither in an Eſtate of twenty Times a hundred thouſand Seſterces, which he had received from his Father, did he behave himſelf ungenteely; nor in an Eſtate of a hundred Times a hundred thouſand Seſterces, did he live more plentifully*

their daily Diſburſements, and Receipts too, as appears from many Paſſages in the Roman Writers; the Book, in which theſe Accounts were kept, was called *Ephemeris*.

* The *As* was nearly a Penny of our Money, and ſo the whole Sum almoſt eleven Pounds. Things muſt have been very cheap in Rome, in Compariſon to what they have been now-a-days with us, otherwiſe Atticus could not have frequently entertained, and that handſomely and genteely, Perſons of the beſt Quality at his Table, at ſo ſmall an Expence monthly.

† It was uſual, at the Tables of Perſons of Quality in Rome, to entertain the Gueſts with Muſick, Farces, &c.

tunâ. Nullos habuit hortos, nullam ſuburbanam aut maririmam ſumptuoſam villam; neq; in Italiâ, præter Ardeatinam & Nomentanum, ruſticum prædium: omniſque ejus pecuniæ reditus conſtabat in Epiroticis, & urbanus poſſeſſionibus; ex quo cognoſci poteſt, eum uſum pecuniæ non magnitudine, ſed ratione metiri ſolitum.

*plentifully than he had been uſed to do; and ſtood upon an equal Height in both Fortunes. He had no Gardens, no magnificent Seat nigh the City, or upon the Sea: nor any Land Eſtate in Italy, beſides that at * Ardea, and at † Nomentum: and his whole Income of Money conſiſted in his Poſſeſſions in Epire, and the City of* Rome; *from whence it may be underſtood, that he meaſured the Uſe of Money, not by its Quantity, but by the Manner of uſing it.*

CAP. XV. Mendacium neque dicebat, neque pati poterat; itaque ejus comitas non ſine ſeveritate erat, neque gravitas ſine facilitate; ut difficile eſſet intellectu, utrùm eum amici magis vererentur, an amarent. Quidquid rogabatur, religiosè promittebat; quòd non liberalis, ſed levis arbitrabatur, polliceri quod præſtare non poſſet. Idem in nitendo quod ſemel admiſiſſet, tanta erat cura, ut non mandatam, ſed ſuam rem videretur agere. Nunquam ſuſcepti negotii eum pertæſum eſt; ſuam enim exiſtimationem in eâ re agi putabat, quâ nihil habebat carius; quo fiebat, ut omnia Marci & Quinti Ciceronum,

CHAP. XV. *He neither told a Lie himſelf, nor could he endure it: Wherefore his ‡ Complaiſance was not without a ſtrict Regard to Truth, nor his Gravity without a good Degree of Compliance; that it was hard to be underſtood, whether his Friends reverenced or loved him more. Whatſoever he was aſked, he promiſed § ſcrupulouſly; becauſe he thought* it the Part *not of a generous but an inconſiderate Man, to promiſe what he could not perform. The ſame* Man *was a Perſon of ſo much Application in endeavouring* to effect *what he had once promiſed, that he did not ſeem to manage an Affair recommended* to him by another, *but his own. He was never weary of*

* Ardea was a City of Latium, nigh the Sea, about twenty Miles from Rome.

† Nomentum, a Town in the Country of the Sabines.

‡ *Comitas* ſignifies Complaiſance or Civility, in the Expreſſion of which it has always been but too cuſtomary to have ſmall Regard to Truth.

§ He was not very forward in his Promiſes, leſt the Performance ſhould not be in his Power.

ronum, Catonis, Hortenſii, A. Torquati, multorum præterea equitum Romanorum negotia procuraret: ex quo judicari poterat, non inertiâ ſed judicio fugiſſe Reipub. procurationem.

of a Buſineſs he had *undertaken; for he thought his Credit concerned in that Matter, than which he accounted nothing more valuable; from whence it was, that he managed all the Affairs of the Cicero's, Marcus and Quintus, of Cato, Hortenſius, A. Torquatus,* and *many Roman Knights beſides; from which it might be judged, that he declined the Buſineſs of Government, not out of Lazineſs, but Judgment.*

CAP. XVI. Humanitatis verò nullum afferre majus teſtimonium poſſum, quàm quòd adoleſcens, idem ſeni Syllæ fuerit jucundiſſimus: ſenex, adoleſcenti M. Bruto; cum æqualibus autem ſuis Q. Hortenſio, & M. Cicerone, ſic vixerit, ut judicare difficile ſit, cui ætati fuerit aptiſſimus; quanquam eum præcipuè dilexit Cicero, ut ne frater quidem ei Quintus carior fuerit, aut familiarior. Ei rei ſunt indicio, præter eos libros, in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus jam ſunt editi, ſexdecim volumina epiſtolarum, ab conſulatu ejus uſque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum miſſarum; quæ qui legat, non multum deſideret hiſtoriam contextam eorum temporum: ſic enim omnia de ſtudiis principum vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus Reip. perſcripta ſunt, ut nihil in iis non appareat: & facilè exiſtimari poſſit, prudentiam quodam modo eſſe divinationem: non enim Cicero

CHAP. XVI. *But I can produce no greater Proof of his Politeneſs, than that of the ſame* Man, when *young, was very agreeable to Sylla an old Man;* and when *old,* was the *ſame to M. Brutus, a young Man; but he ſo lived with his Friends of the ſame Age with himſelf, Q. Hortenſius and M. Cicero, that it is hard to judge to what Age he was moſt ſuited; tho' Cicero loved him in a particular Manner, ſo that his Brother Quintus was not more dear to him, or more familiar* with him. *And ſixteen Volumes of Epiſtles ſent to Atticus, from* the Time of *his Conſulſhip to the latter End of his Life, are a Proof of that Thing; beſides thoſe Books, wherein he makes mention of him, which are publiſhed to the World; which he that reads won't much want a continued Hiſtory of thoſe Times: For ſo all Particulars are put down, relating to the Deſigns of the leading Men, the Faults of the Commanders, and the Revolutions of the Government, that every Thing appears in them; and it may be eaſily thought, that Prudence is in ſome*

cero ea ſolum, quæ vivo ſe acciderunt, futura prædixit; ſed etiam, quæ nunc uſu veniunt, cecinit vates.

Meaſure a Divine Foreſight: for Cicero did not only foretel thoſe Things would be, which happened whilſt *he* was *alive; but likewiſe predicted, as a Prophet, what now comes to paſs.*

CAP. XVII. De pietate autem Attici quid plura commemorem; cùm hoc ipſum vere gloriantem audierim, in funere matris ſuæ, quam extulit annorum nonaginta, cum eſſet ſeptem & ſexaginta; ſe nunquam cum matre in gratiam rediiſſe; nunquam cum ſorore fuiſſe in ſimultate, quam prope æqualem habebat; quod eſt ſignum, aut nullam unquam inter eos querimoniam interceſſiſſe, aut hunc eâ fuiſſe in ſuos indulgentiâ, ut quos amare deberet, iraſci eis nefas duceret. Neque id fecit naturâ ſolùm, quanquam omnes ei paremus, ſed etiam doctrinâ: nam & principum Philoſophorum ita percepta habuit præcepta, ut iis ad vitam agendam, non ad oſtentationem, uteretur.

CHAP. XVII. *As to Atticus's Affection for his Relations, why ſhould I ſay much? having heard him boaſt of this,* and *truly* too, *at the Funeral of his Mother, whom he buried at ninety Years of Age, when he was ſixty-ſeven; that he, never returned to a good Underſtanding with his Mother, never was at any Difference with his Siſter; which he had nearly of the ſame Age; which is a Sign, either that no Complaint had paſſed betwixt them, or that he was a* Man *of ſo much Indulgence for his Relations, that he reckoned it a Crime to be angry with thoſe whom he ought to love. Nor did he do this from Nature only, altho' we all obey her, but likewiſe out of Principle, for he had ſo learned the Precepts of the greateſt Philoſophers, that he made Uſe of them for the Conduct of his Life, and not for Oſtentation.*

CAP. XVIII. Moris etiam majorum ſummus imitator fuit, antiquitatiſque amator; quam adeò diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine expoſuerit, quo magiſtratus ornavit. Nulla enim lex, neque pax, neque bellum, neque

CHAP. XVIII. *He was likewiſe a great Imitator of the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors, and a Lover of Antiquity; which he had ſo diligently enquired into, that he gave an Account of it thoroughly in that Volume, in which* * *he has put down, in Order of Time, the* ſeveral *Magiſtrates*

* I am of the Opinion of thoſe who think that for *ornavit* we ought to read *ordinavit*. *Ornare Magiſtratus* is indeed a Latin Expreſſion, but bears a Senſe quite foreign to any Purpoſe of our Author.

neque res illuſtris eſt populi Rom. quæ non, in eo, ſuo tempore, ſit notata; &, quod difficillimum fuit, ſic familiarum originum ſubtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines poſſimus cognoſcere. Fecit hoc idem ſeparatim in aliis libris: ut M. Bruti rogatu, Juniam familiam à ſtirpe ad hac ætatem ordine enumeravit, notans qui, à quo ortus, quos honores, quibuſque temporibus cepiſſet. Pari modo, Marcelli Claudii, de Marcellorum; Scipionis Cornelii, & Fabii Maximi, de Corneliorum, & Fabiorum, & Æmiliorum: quibus libris nihil poteſt eſſe dulcius iis, qui aliquam cupiditatem habent notitiæ clarorum virorum. Attigit quoque poëticen, credimus, ne ejus expers eſſet ſuavitatis. Namque verſibus, qui honore, rerumque geſtarum amplitudine cæteros Romani populi præſtiterunt, expoſuit; ita ut ſub ſingulorum imaginibus, facta magiſtratuſque eorum non ampliùs quaternis quinisve verſibus deſcripſerit: quod vix credendum ſit, tantas res tam breviter potuiſſe declarari. Eſt etiam liber, Græcè confectus, de conſulatu Ciceronis. Hactenus, Attico vivo, edita hæc à nobis ſunt.

giſtrates of Rome: *There is no Law, nor Peace, nor War, nor illuſtrious Affair of the Roman People, which is not ſet down in it, in its proper Time: And, what was very difficult, he has ſo interwoven the Original of Families, that we may learn from thence the Deſcents of famous Men. He did this ſame Thing apart in other Books; as, at the Requeſt of M. Brutus, he reckoned up in Order the Junian Family from their Original to this Age, taking Notice of what Offices, and at what Time, every one, and from whom deſcended, had borne. In like Manner,* at the Requeſt of *Marcellus Claudius*, he enumerated that * *of the Marcelli.* At the Requeſt of *Scipio Cornelius and Fabius Maximus*, that *of the Cornelii, and the Fabii, and the Æmilii: than which Books nothing can be more pleaſant to thoſe, who have any Fancy for the Knowledge of famous Men. He likewiſe had a Touch at Poetry, that he might not be unacquainted with that Pleaſure, we ſuppoſe. For he has related in Verſes,* the Lives of thoſe, *who excelled the reſt of the Roman People in Honour, and the Greatneſs of their Exploits; ſo that he has deſcibed, under each of their Images, their Actions and Offices, in no more than four or five Verſes: which is ſcarcely to be believed that ſuch great Things could be ſo briefly delivered. There is likewiſe a Book* of his *written in Greek, concerning the Conſulſhip of Cicero.*

CAP. *Thus*

* The Prepoſition *De* ſhould certainly be out, and accordingly ſome Manuſcripts have it not.

Thus far was publiſhed by us, whilſt *Atticus was living.*

CAP. XIX. Nunc, quoniam fortuna nos ſuperſtites ei eſſe voluit, reliqua perſequemur; &, quantùm poterimus rerum exemplis lectores docebimus, ſicut ſuprà ſignificavimus, *Suos cuique mores plerumque conciliare fortunam.* Namque hic contentus ordine Equeſtri, quo erat ortus, in affinitatem pervenit Imperatoris, Divi Julii filii, cùm jam ante familiaritatem ejus eſſet conſecutus nullâ aliâ re, quàm elegantiâ vitæ, quâ cæteros ceperat principes civitatis, dignitate pari, fortunâ humiliore. Tanta enim proſperitas Cæſarem eſt conſecuta, ut nihil ei non tribuerit fortuna, quod cuiqam ante detulerat; & conciliârit quod civis Romanus quivit conſequi. Nata autem eſt Attico neptis ex Agrippâ, cui virginem filiam collocàrat: Hanc Cæſar, vix anniculam, Tiberio Claudio Neroni, Druſillâ nato privigno ſuo, deſpondit; quæ conjunctio

CHAP. XIX. *Now, ſince Fortune had a Mind that we ſhould be the Survivors of him, we will go thro' the Remainder* of his Life; *and, as far as we can, will inform our Readers by Inſtances of Fact as we have ſignified above,* That every Man's Manners for the moſt Part make his Fortune. *For he being content with the Equeſtrian Order, from whence he was deſcended, came into the Alliance of the * Emperor Julius's Son, after he had before gained a Familiarity with him, by nothing elſe but the Elegance of his Life, by which † he had charmed the other great Men of the City, of equal Quality, but a lower Fortune* than Cæſar. *For ſo much Proſperity attended Cæſar, that Fortune gave him every Thing that ſhe had beſtowed upon any one before; and procured him* all *that a Roman Citizen could accompliſh. Now Atticus had a Grand-daughter born of Agrippa, to whom he had diſpoſed of his Daughter* when *a Virgin: Cæſar contracted her,* when *ſcarcely a Year old, to T. Claudius Nero,*

* I have not thought it worth while to tranſlate *Divus*; it would ſound very oddly in our Language to give the Stile of a God to ſuch an ambitious wicked Mortal as Julius Cæſar was. It was a profane ſtupid Practice amongſt the Romans, not to be outdone by any Thing amongſt the barbarous Nations, to rank their Emperors, (unleſs they were Devils indeed) after their Deceaſe, amongſt the Gods; which continued even ſome Time after the Emperors became Chriſtians, if Eutropius may be truſted.

† Here I. have the Misfortune again to differ very widely from Major Pack. Which of us is miſtaken, muſt be referred to the Judgment of the intelligent Reader, that ſhall think it worth while to compare our Tranſlations with the Original.

junctio neceſſitudinem eorum ſanxit, familiaritatem reddidit frequentiorem.

Nero, born of Druſilla, his Step-Son; which Match eſtabliſhed their Friendſhip, and *rendered their familiar Converſe more frequent.*

CAP. XX. Quamvis ante hæc ſponſalia, non ſolùm, cùm ab urbe abeſſet, nunquam ad ſuorum quenquam literas miſit, quin Attico mitteret, quid ageret; imprimis, quid legeret, quibusque in locis, & quamdiu eſſet moraturus; ſed & cùm eſſet in urbe, & propter ſuas infinitas occupationes, minùs ſæpe quàm vellet Attico frueretur, nullus dies tamen temerè interceſſit, quo non ad eum ſcriberet, quo non aliquid de antiquitate ab eo requireret; modo aliquam quæſtionem poëticam ei proponeret; interdum jocans ejus verboſiores eliceret epiſtolas: ex quo accidit, cum ædes Joves Feretrii in Capitolio, ab Romulo conſtituta, vetuſtate atque incuriâ detecta prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu Cæſar eam reficiendam curaret. Neque verò à M. Antonio minùs, abſens, literis colebatur, adeò ut accuratè ille, ex ultimis terris, quid ageret, quid curæ ſibi haberet certiorem faceret Aticum. Hoc quale ſit, faciliùs exiſtimabat is, qui judicare poterit, quantæ ſit ſapientiæ eorum retinere uſum benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non ſolùm æmulatio, ſed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere

CHAP. XX. *Altho' before this Match, not only when he was abſent from Town, he never ſent a Letter to any of his Friends, but he ſent one to Atticus,* to acquaint him *what he was doing; eſpecially what he was reading, and in what Places, and how long he would ſtay; but alſo, when he was in Town, and becauſe of his infinite Buſineſs, enjoyed Atticus not ſo oft as he had a Mind, yet no Day ſcarcely paſſed, in which he did not write to him, in which he did not make ſome Enquiry of him relating to Antiquity; ſometimes he would propoſe ſome poetical Queſtion to him; ſometimes jeſting would draw from him a long Letter; from whence it happened, when the Temple of Jupiter Feretius, built in the Capitol by Romulus, being uncovered thro' Age and Neglect, was coming down, that upon the Admonition of Atticus, Cæſar took Care that it was repaired. Nor was he leſs civilly applied to in Letters by M. Antony, when abſent. So that he made Atticus acquainted particularly, from the remoteſt Parts of the Earth, with what he was doing, what Care he had upon him. How conſiderable this is, he will more eaſily imagine, who can judge how great* a Point of *Wiſdom it is to keep the Friendſhip and Favour of thoſe, betwixt whom there paſſed not only ſo great an Emulation upon* account of *Matters of the*

utmoſt

incidere neceſſe inter Cæſarem atque Antonium; cum ſe uterque principem non ſolùm urbis Romanæ, ſed orbis terrarum eſſe cuperet.

utmoſt Importance, but a mutual Struggle to leſſen one another, as was neceſſary to happen betwixt Cæſar and Antony; whilſt each of them deſired to be the Prince, not only of the City of Rome, but of the World.

CAP. XXI. Tali modo, cùm ſeptem & ſeptuaginta annos complêſſet, atque ad extrémam ſenectutem non minùs dignitate, quam gratiâ fortunâque creviſſet, (multas enim hæreditates nullâ aliâ re, quàm bonitate, eſſe conſecutus) tantâque proſperitate uſus eſſet valetudinis, ut annis triginta medicinâ non indiguiſſet; nactus eſt morbum, quem initio & ipſe & medici contempſerunt: nàm putârunt eſſe τενεσμὸν, cui remedia celeria faciliaque proponebantur: in hoc cùm tres menſes ſine ullis doloribus, præterquam quos ex curatione capiebat, conſumpſiſſet; ſubitò tanta vis morbi in unum inteſtinum prorupit, ut extremo tempore, per lumbos fiſtula putris eruperit: atque hoc priuſquam ei accideret, poſtquam in dies dolores accreſcere, febremque acceſſiſſe ſenſit, Agrippam generum ad ſe accerſi juſſit, & cum eo L. Cornelium Balbum, Sextumque Peducæum. Hos ut veniſſe vidit, in cubitum innixus, *Quantam,*

CHAP. XXI. *After he had completed, in this Manner, ſeventy-ſeven Years, and had advanced no leſs in Dignity, than in Favour and Fortune, to an extreme old Age, (for he had got ſeveral Inheritances by no other Thing than his Goodneſs) and had ſuch a happy State of Health, that he ſtood not in need of* any *Phyſick for thirty Years* together; *he contracted a Diſtemper, which at firſt both he and his Phyſicians deſpiſed; for they thought it to be* * *a Teneſmos; for which ſpeedy and eaſy Remedies were propoſed: After he had paſſed three Months in this Diſtemper without any Pains, beſides what he received from the* Method taken for his *Cure; on a ſudden ſo great a Violence of the Diſtemper broke out upon one of his Inteſtines, that at length, a putrid Fiſtula broke thro' his Loins: And before this happened to him, after he found that his Pains grew upon him every Day, and that a Fever was ſuperadded to them; he ordered his Son-in-Law Agrippa to be called to him, and with him L. Cornelius Balbus, and Sextus Peducæus. When he ſaw they were come, leaning upon his Elbow,*

* A *Teneſmos* (to uſe Major Pack's Words) is a violent Motion without a Power of going to Stool.

tam, inquit, *curam diligentiamque in valetudine meâ tuendâ hoc tempore adhibuerim, cum vos teſtes habeam, nihil neceſſe pluribus verbis commemorare: quibus quoniam, ut ſpero, ſatisfeci, nihilque reliqui feci, quod ad ſananandum me pertineret, reliquum eſt, ut egomet mihi conſulam. Id vos ignorare nolui; nam mihi ſtat alere morbum deſinere: Namque his diebus quicquid cibi ſumpſi, ita produxi vitam, ut auxerim dolores, ſine ſpe ſalutis. Quare à vobis peto, primùm ut conſilium probetis meum; deinde, ne fruſtrà dehortando tenemini.*

how, *ſaid he*, how much Care and Diligence I have employed to reſtore my Health, ſince I have you for my Witneſſes, there is no need to recount in many Words. Whom ſince I have ſatisfied, as I hope, and have left nothing undone that was proper *in the Judgment of the Doctors* to cure me, it remains that I provide for myſelf. I had no mind you ſhould be ignorant of it; for my *Reſolution* is fixed, to give over feeding the Diſtemper: For whatſoever Meat I have taken for ſome Days, I have ſo prolonged my Life, that I encreaſed my Pains, without any Hopes of Recovery. Wherefore I beg of you, in the firſt Place, that you would approve my Reſolution; if not, that then you would not labour in vain by diſſading me.

CAP. XXII. Hâc oratione habitâ, tantâ conſtantiâ vocis atque vultûs, ut non ex vitâ, ſed ex domo in domum videretur migrare: cùm quidem Agrippa eum flens, atque oſculans, oraret, atque obſecraret, Ne id quod Natura cogeret, ipſe quoquè ſibi accelleraret: & quoniam tum quoquè poſſet temporibus ſupereſſe, ſe ſibi ſuiſque reſervaret: preces ejus

CHAP. XXII. *Having made this Speech, with ſuch a Steadineſs of Voice and Countenance, that he ſeemed not to be removing out of Life, but out of one Houſe into another; when Agrippa, weeping and kiſſing, begged and entreated him, That he would not haſten that which Nature would oblige him to; * and ſince he might live for ſome Time longer, that he would ſave himſelf for himſelf, and his*

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* I have tranſlated the Words *temporibus ſupereſſe* by "live ſome "Time longer;" becauſe it ſeems pretty plain by the Context, the Author intended to ſay ſome ſuch Thing; but I look upon the Reading to be faulty; for the Words will not bear that Senſe, nor in my Opinion any Senſe at all.

ejus taciturnâ ſuâ obſtinatione depreſſit. Sic, cùm biduum cibo ſe abſtinuiſſet, ſubitò febris deceſſit, leviorque morbus eſſe cœpit: tamen propoſitum nihilo ſeciùs peregit. Itaque die quinto poſtquam id conſilium inierat, pridie Kal. April. Cn. Domitio, C. Soſio COSS. deceſſit. Elatus eſt in lecticula, ut ipſe præſcripſerat, ſine ullâ pompâ funeris, comitantibus omnibus bonis, maximâ vulgi frequentiâ. Sepultus eſt juxta viam Appiam, ad quintum lapidem, in monumento Q. Cæcilii avunculi ſui.

his Friends; he put a Stop to his Entreaties, by a ſilent Obſtinacy. Thus, after he had abſtained from all *Food for two Days, on a ſudden his Fever went off, and the Diſtemper began to be more eaſy; yet notwithſtanding he executed his Purpoſe. Wherefore upon the fifth Day after he had entered upon that Reſolution,* * *the Day before the Calends of April,* when *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Soſius* were *Conſuls, he died. He was carried* to his Funeral *upon a little Couch, as he himſelf had ordered, without any Pomp of Funeral, all good People attending him, with a great Crowd of the Populace. He was buried near the Appian Way,* † *at the fifth* Mile-*Stone, in the Monument of Q. Cæcilius his Uncle.*

* The laſt of *March*, for the firſt Day of every Month was called the Calends.

† There was in all the great Roads from Rome, ſet up at every Mile's End, a Stone.

VERBA CORNELIÆ

GRACCHORUM MATRIS

Ex CORNELII NEPOTIS *Libro Excerpta.*

DICIS, Pulchrum esse inimicos ulciſci: Id neque majus neque pulchrius cuiquam atque mihi esse videtur: ſed ſi liceat rep. ſalvâ eos perſequi: ſed quatenus id fieri non poteſt, multo tempore, multiſque partibus, inimici noſtri non peribunt, atque uti nunc ſunt, erunt, potiùs quàm reſp. profligetur atque pereat.

Verbis conceptis dejerare auſim, præterquam qui Tiberium Gracchum necârunt, neminem inimicum tantum moleſtiæ, tantumque laboris, quantum te ob has res mihi tradidiſſe; quem oportebat omnium eorum quos antehac habui liberos, partes eorum tolerare, atque curare, ut quam minimum ſolicitudinis in ſenectâ haberem, utìque quæcumque ageres, ea velles maximè mihi placere, atque uti nefas haberes rerum majorum adverſum meam ſententiam quicquam facere; præſertim mihi, cui parva pars vitæ ſupereſt. Ne id quidem tam breve ſpatium poteſt opitulari, quin & mihi adverſeris, & temp. profliges. Denique quæ pauſa erit, & quando deſinet familia noſtra inſanire? & quando modus ei rei haberi poteris? & quando deſinemus & habentes & præbentes, moleſtiis deſiſtere? & quando perpudeſcet miſcenda atque perturbanda rep. Sed ſi omnino id non fieri poteſt, ubi ego mortua ero, petito tribunarum, facito quod lubebit, cùm ego non ſentiam: ubi mortuo ero parentabis mihi, & invocabis Deûm parentem in eo tempore. Nec pudet te eorum Deûm preces expetere, quos vivos atque præſentes, relictos atque deſertos habueris? Ne ille ſinat Jupiter, te ea perſeverare, nec tibi tantam demen tam venire in animo; &, ſi perſeveras, vereor ne omnem vitam tantum laboris culpâ tuâ recipias, utì in nullo tempore tutè tibi placere poſſis.

Ex I. Chronicorum Libro.

Homerus & Heſiodus vixerunt ante Romam conditam ann. circiter centum & quinquaginta. *Gellius, lib.* 17. *cap.* 21.

Ex I. Librorum de vitâ Ciceronis.

M. Tullius Cicero tres & viginti annos natus, primum campum judicii publici egit, Sextumque Roſcium parricidii reum defendit. *Gellius, lib.* 25. *cap.* 28.

Ex II. libro de viribus Illuſtribus.

Cariſius, lib. 2. *citat vocem* ſubinde. *Et ex* 15. *idem, lib.* 1. *citat illum modum dicendi,* Harum partium. *Et ex* 16. *illa verba,* A fratre patruele rem neceſſitudinis, ſed perſonam oſtendat.

Ex incerto libro de viris Illuſtribus.

Juſtè venuſtèque admodum reprehendiſſe dicitur A. Albinum M. Cato. Albinus, qui cum L. Lucullo conſul fuit, res Romanas oratione Græcâ ſcriptitavit: In ejus hiſtoriæ principio ſcriptum eſt ad hanc ſententiam: Neminem ſuccenſere ſibi convenire, ſi quid in his libris parum compoſitè, aut minùs eleganter ſcriptum foret. Nam ſum, inquit, homo Romanus, natus in Latio: Græca oratio à nobis alieniſſima eſt. Ideoque veniam, gratiamque malæ exiſtimationis, ſi quid eſſet erratum, poſtulavit. Ea cùm legiſſet M. Cato, Næ tu, inquit, Aule, nimiùm nugator es, cùm maluiſti culpam deprecari, quàm culpâ vacare. Nam petere veniam ſolemus, aut cùm imprudentes erravimus, aut cùm compulſi peccavimus. Tibi, inquit, oro te, quis perpulit, ut id committeres, quòd priuſquam faceres, peteres ut ignoſceretur? *Gellius, lib.* 11. *cap.* 8.

Archilochus Tullo Hoſtilio Romæ regnante jam tunc fuit poëmatis clarus & nobilis. Idem, *lib.* 17. *cap.* 21.

Ex libris Exemplorum.

A virgine Veſtali. *Hoc citat Cariſius, lib.* 1. *ex.* 2. *Exemplorum libro.* Multis in ſenatu placuit, ut ii, qui redire nolent, datis cuſtodibus, ad Annibalem deducerentur, ſed ea ſententia numero plurium, quibus id non videbatur, ſuperata eſt; ii tamen, qui ad Annibalem non rediêrunt, uſque adeò inteſtabiles, inviſique fuerunt, ut tædium vitæ ceperunt, necemque ſibi conſciverint. *Gellius, lib.* 7. *cap.* 18. *ex.* 5. *Exemplorum libro.*

Ex incerto libro.

Ædes Martis eſt in circo Flaminio architectata ab Hermodoro Salaminio. *Priſcianus, lib.* 8.

Eudoxus

Eudoxus quidam meâ ætate, cum Lathyrem Regem fugeret, Arabico ſinu egreſſus, Gades uſque pervectus eſt. *Plinius, lib.* 11. *cap.* 67.

Latitudinis ubi minimum, ſeptem millia paſſuum; ubi verò plurimum, decem millia. *Plinius, in Proœmio, lib.* 3.

Melpum, opulentiâ præcipuum, ab Inſubribus, & Boiis, & Senonibus, deletum eſt eo die quo Camillus Veios cepit. *Idem Plinius, libri ejuſdem, cap.* 17.

Iſtro in Adriam effluenti è Danubio amne ex adverſo Padi fauces, contrario eorum percuſſu, mari interjecto, dulceſcente. *Plinius, libri ejuſdem, cap.* 18.

Alpes in latitudinem C. M. *Idem, lib. ejuſdem, cap.* 19.

Cerne inſula abeſt ex adverſo maximè Carthaginis à continente paſſus mille, non amplior circuitu duobus millibus. *Idem, lib.* 6, *cap.* 31.

Poſt accipitrem, præcipua auctoritas fuit lupo, & aſellis. *Idem lib.* 9. *cap.* 18.

Me juvene violatia purpura vigebat, cujus libra denariis C. veniebat, nec multò poſt rubra Tarentina. Huic ſucceſſit dibapha Tyria, quæ in libras denariis mille non poterat emi. Hâc P. Lentulus Spinther, Ædilis Curulis primus, in pretextâ uſus, improbatur. Quâ purpurâ, quis non jam triclinaria facit? *Idem, lib.* 19. *cap.* 19.

Turdi paulò ante Auguſti principatum cœpti faginari. Ciconiæ magis placent, quàm grues. *Idem, lib.* 10. *cap.* 23.

Magnitudo Loti arboris brevit. *Idem, lib.* 23. *cap.* 17.

Vinum exprimitur illi ſimile mulſo, quod ultra denos dies non durat, baccæque contuſæ cum alicâ ad cibos doliis conduntur. *Idem, Plinius, ibidem.*

Scandula contecta fuit Roma ad Pyrrhi uſque bellum, annis quadringentis ſeptuaginta. *Idem, lib.* 16. *cap.* 10.

Ante Syllæ victoriam duo tantùm triclinia Romæ fuerunt argentea. *Idem, lib.* 33. *cap.* 11.

Cleophantus Corinthius ſecutus eſt in Italiam Demaratum Tarquinii Priſci Romani Regis patrem, fugientem à Corintho injurias Cypſellii tyranni. *Idem, lib.* 35. *cap.* 3.

Primus Romæ parietes cruſtâ marmoris operuit totius domus ſuæ in Cœlio monte Mamurra. Formiis natus, eques Romanus, præfectus fabrorum C. Cæſaris in Galliâ. *Idem, lib.* 36. *cap.* 6.

Mamurra primus totis ædibus nullam niſi è marmore columnam habuit, omnes ſolidas è Caryſtio, aut Lunenſi. *Idem, Plinius, ibidem.*

Fuit magno miraculo, cùm P. Lentulus Spinther amphoras ex onyche Chiorum magnitudine cadorum oſtendiſſet; poſt quinquennium deinde triginta duorum pedum longitudine vidi. *Idem, libri ejuſdem, cap.* 7.

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Diſpalata multitudo, *palabundi & diſperſa paſſim, vagantesque*, 23. 5.
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Diſputare de rep. *diſſerere*, 15. 3.
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Diſſolutus, *ſign. neglectum legis, boni moris exiſtimationiſque*, 7. 1.
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Divitiæ orbis terrarum, *ὑπερβολὴ χῶς, de ſummo pretio*, 15. 4.
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Docere, *exponere, narrare*, 1. 6.
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Ducere aliquem in errorem, *falſa opinione deludere*, 23. 9. ducere ſecum, *de contubernio*, 22. 3. ducere, *exiſtimare, credere*, 7. 7. ducere bellum, *morâ protrahere*, 7. 8. ducere tempus, *cunctari*, 2. 7.
Duci adverſùs aliquem, *ſignificat militari*, 18. 3. ducere amore, *impelli*, 5. 1.
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Intereſſe rebus privatis, publicis, *pluſquam nudam præſentiam notat*, 20. 4.
Interfectus exercitus hoſt. *deletus occidione*, 3. 2.
Interit pecunia, *prodigitur*, 2. 2.
Internecio, ad internecionem geſta *bella ad partis, aut partium interitum*, 18. 3.
Interponere, *de judicio, ſententiâque ſcriptioni inſertâ*, 16. 3.
Interponere ſe, *ope ſuâ intervenire, facultatem rei conciliare, pecuniâ mutuâ juvare*, 25. 2.
Interpretari, *rationem reddere*, 25. 3.
Intueri, *animadvertere*, 12. 1.
Invehi multa in aliquem, *alicujus exagitandi ergo probra ſpargere*, 15. 6.
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Invidere aliquid, *pro ob aliquid*, 8. 4.
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Jus, jure ſuo, *meritò*, 8. 1. jura patriæ, hoſpitii, *reſpectu obligationis, quibus patriæ aut hoſpiti obligamur*, 13. 4.
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Lapis, *de milliari*, 25. 22.
Largitiones effuſæ, *ſæpè in malam partem uſurpatur hæc vox, de iis quæ ambitûs cauſâ donantur*, 25. 6.
Latere, *occultam eſſe, ignorari*, 17. 6.
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Lautè vivere, *ſplendidè, liberalius ſibi indulgere*, 12. 3.
Laxare vincula epiſtolæ, 4. 4.
Lectoris ſatietas & ignorantia, *quarum hæc ex nimia brevitate, illa ex multitudine*, 16. 1.
Legationem ſuſcipere, *obeundam in ſe recipere*, 2. 6. legationes, *pro ipſis legatis*, 15. 6.
Lemnus non vult ſe dedere, 1. 2.
Lenire invidiam, *mitigare*, 10. 6.
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Levis armatura, *pro militibus levis armaturæ*, 14. 8. levis, *expeditus*, 11. 1, levis non liberalis, *qui plura promittit quàm præſtat, non tam facilitate officii, quàm temeritate linguæ*; leviora ſunt mihi, apud me, *duco leviora*, 15. 1.
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Lignea mœnia, *ænigmaticè de navibus*, 2. 2.
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Loqui, *ferre rumoribus*, 22. 3.
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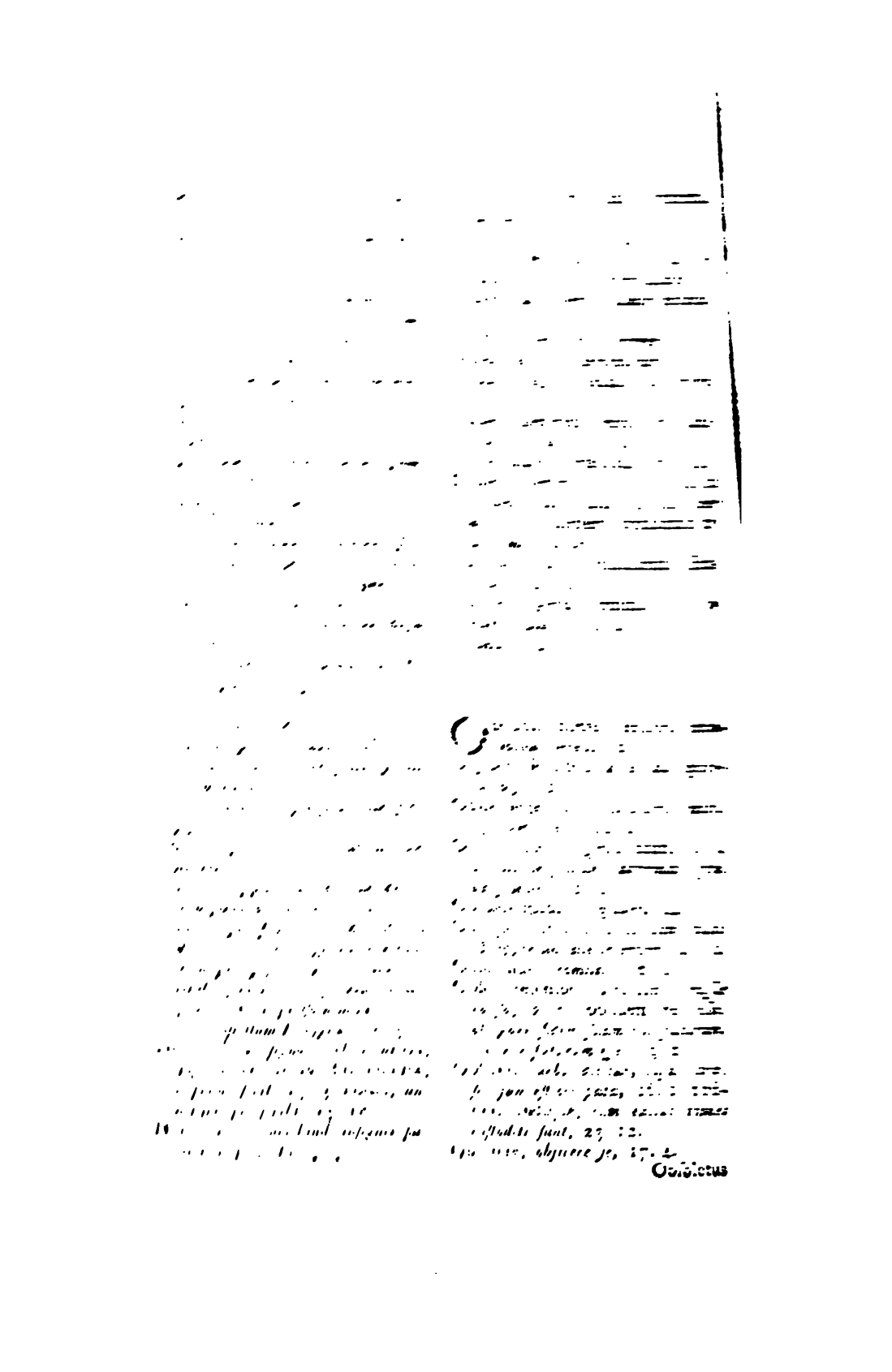
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MAcrochir *(Longimanus) Artaxerxes*, 21. 1.
Magiſtratus, *imperium, prætura belli*, 1. 8.
Magneſia, *urbs Aſ. apud Meandrum fl.* 2. 10.
Majores res appetere, *de ambitioſis noviſque conſiliis*, 4. 2.
Malefica natura, 17. 8. nanciſci naturam maleficam in corpore, *nihil aliud, quàm in corpore naturæ aliquem errorem ac deformitatem præferre.*
Malum externum, *bellum cum ext. geſt* 22. 2.
Malitiorè facere, *cum aliquis culpâ ſuâ & de induſtriâ rem male gerit*, 7. 7.
Mamercus Italicus capitur, 20. 2.
Mago frater Hanſnibalis, 23. 7.
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Manere, *expectare hoſtem*, 2. 4. in officio, *obſequii ſc. & fidei*, 9. 3.
Manere, *ratum eſſe*, 7. 10.
Manubiæ, *prædam ſive pecuniam ex præda redactam intelligit*, 5. 2.
Manus ad manum habere, *miniſterio alicujus uti*, 18. 1.
Manus, *exercitus & copia*, 1. 5. manum conſerere, *acie contendere*, 14. 8. manum dare, *victorum eſt & ſuccumbentium*, 22. 1.
Marathon, *campus*, 1. 4.
Marathoniâ pugnâ, 2. 2. *Marathonium* tropæum, *pugna, ſeu pugnæ gloriæ*, 2. 5.
Marcellus, *M. Claud. Coſſ.* 23. 13.
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Marius hoſtis judicatus, 25. 2.
Maſſagetæ, 21. 1.
Mater patri prælata, 11. 3. filii pœnam promovet, 4. 5.
Media, 18. 8.
Mederi ſatietati lectoris, *ne ſatietate obtundatur, cavere*, 16. 1.
Medimnus *(& medimnum) Græcorum menſura, Romanos ſex modios capiens*, 25. 2.
Meditari animo, *conſtituere apud ſe*, 17. 4.
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Memor gratuſque, *quodam ſententiæ genere juncta*, 25. 9. memor virtutem priſtinarum, *non tam memoria quàm memoriæ efficacia & inſtinctio ad aliquid notatur*, 23. 12.
Meneclides, 15. 5.
Menelai portus, 17. 8.
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Mens, *propoſitum, conſilium*, 16. 1.
Menſa ſecunda, 17. 8.

Mentio, *de totâ expoſitione vitæ*, 15. 4.
Mercenarii ſcribæ, *non ſine notâ vilis animi & operæ hæc vox honeſtis & induſtriis viris, qui fidem potiùs quàm lucrum ſpectant, majorumque rerum actores ſunt, opponitur*, 18. 1.
Merere ſtipendium, *militare*, 24. 1.
Meſſena conſtituta, 15. 8.
Micythus, 15. 4.
Miltiades, 1. 1.
Minervæ ædes, 4. 5.
Minùs diebus *minùs quàm diebus*, 2. 5.
M. Minutius Rufus, M. E. 23. 5.
Q. Minutius Cos. 23. 8.
Mira comitas, *magna*, 1. 8.
Mirabilis cupiditas, *vehemens, ingens*, 1. 5.
Miſcere plurima cupit, *de ſeditioſis, & turbulentis ſeditionibus*, 4. 1.
Mithridates Ariobarzanis fil. 14. 4.
Mithrobarzanes, 14. 6.
Mitylænæi quid Pittaco donârint, 8. 4.
Mnemon Artaxerxes juſtitiæ famâ florens, 21. 1.
Mobilis, *populus inconſtans*, 13. 3.
Moderata vita, *civilitatis reſpectu*, 13. 4.
Mocilla, *L. Julius prætor*, 25. 11.
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Molossi, 2. 8.
Momenti nullius eſſe, *auctoritate ſcil. amiſſa*, 7. 8.
Monumetum, *ſepulchrum*, 25. 22. monumenta, *indicia rei memoriam conſervantia*, 2. 10. *dicuntur à* monendo.
Mos, *ad* morem majorum, *h. e. inſtituta* inde à majoribus propagata, 5. 1. mores civitatis, *conſuetudines, inſtituta*, 25. 6.
Mos crudelitatis, *ipſam crudelitatis uſurpationem exprimit*, 8. 3.
Morem genere, *obedire*, 14. 4.
Morum præfectus, 22. 3.
Movere ſe, *ſcil. ex priſtinâ habitatione*, 18. 6. movere, *perſuadere*, 2. 4. moveri auctoritate alicujus, *ſcil. ad fidem habendam*, 9. 4. moveri quæ poſſunt, *vulgo mobilia bona*, 2. 2.
Motus concurſuſque, *prælantium, ſc. bellantiumque*, 11. 1.
Mulctare, lex mulctat more *mortis pœnam conſtituit*, 15. 7.
Multitudo, *populus*, 7. 3.
Munire itinera, *vias faciendo itineri aptare*, 23. 3. munitiones, *opera obſidentium*, 18. 5.
Muri lignei, quo commento inſtructi, 2. 2.
Mutare arma, *alia invenire*, 11. 1.
Mutina, 25. 9.
Mycale, *urbs Cariæ*, 5. 2.
Myſteria facere, *Cereris ſacra arcana*, 7. 3. *alio nomine* initiare *vide Juſtin.* 5. 1.
Myus, *urbs Aſiæ*, 2. 10.

N.

Nanciſci cauſam idoneum, *ſc. opportunè, commodè, oblatam, captamve*, 2. 6. hoſtes navalem nacti diem, *ſcil. tempeſtatem ejus diei, in conſilium veterunt, ſuo uſui accommodârunt.*
Natu magno, *ſubſtantivè, ætatis ratione*, 4. 5.
Natura experta in hoc quid efficere poſſit, *ſignificat autem hîc* Natura *grandius, tanquam effectrix rerum, &c.* 7. 1. naturæ debitum reddere, *mori*, 21. 1. neque id natura ſolùm fecit, *naturali ingenii propenſione*, 25. 17. narâ civitatem eâdem, *tranſlata conſuetudo*, 1. 6.
Naturale bonum, *naturalis quædam gratiæ apud omnes obtinendæ felicitas*, 8. 1.
Naves onerariæ, *ſerviebant commeatui tranſvehendo*, 2. 2.
Naxus, *inſula*, 2. 8.
Ne, *pro an*, verum, falſumne, 14. 9.



Obſoletus honor, *glorioſo oppoſitus, ſpretus*, 1. 6.
Obſtare conſiliis alicujus, *propoſitum intervertere*, 10. 9.
Obſtinatio taciturna, *obſtinatio propoſiti taciturnitate oſtenſa, ſignificata*, 24. 22.
Obterere laudem virtutis, *includit ſignificatum contemptus ac. ſuppreſſionis*, 20. 1.
Obtigit illæ quæſtor Scipioni, *ita ſæpe Romani auctores de magiſtratibus ſorte datis*, 24. 1.
Obtinere locum eundem, *idem officium gerere*, 18. 13.
Obtrectare, inter ſe, *ſc. non æmulari tantùm ſed adverſari ſibi mutuò*, 3. 1.
Occaſione datâ, 22. 1.
Occaſus, *mors*, 18. 3.
Octavius Cæſar Atticum familiariter, per epiſtolas colit, 25. 20.
Oculorum lumina, *oculi*, 20. 4.
Odium civitatis, *in civitatem*, 13. 3. odium ejus in hoc viro tantum eſt, *adverſus hunc virum*, 19. 4.
Œdipus parricida & inceſtuoſus, 15. 6.
Offendere, *abſolutè offenſionem incurrere*, 19. 2. offenſa voluntas in aliquem, *infenſa, infeſta*, 10. 7.
Offendere aliquem imperatum, *deprehendere*, 17. 2.
Offerre ſe periculo, *audere rem periculoſam*, 16. 2.
Officia præſtare alicui, *tanquam civis civibus & magiſtratui, cum notâ obſequii erga imper.* 1. 2. urbana, *ſcil. ſolemnibus negotiis in urbe præſtare ſolita*, 25. 4.
Officio tribuere aliquid, *honeſti rectique ſtudio facere*, 25. 6.
Officium, *de obſequio imperantibus debito*, 1. 7.
Oleaginæ virgulæ, *& ex iis corona*, 8. 4. *victoriæ ſymbolo oblata, Nam à ludis Olympicis ſeria transferre ejuſmodi res uſitatum & elegans.*
Olympias, mater Alexandri, Eumenis conſilium, mox & auxilium implorat, 18. 6.
Olympiæ victor, *præf.*
Olympiodorus, *tibicen*, 15. 2.
Olynthus, *urbs Thraciæ*, 16. 1.
Onomarchus cuſtodum præfectus, 18. 11.
Onuſtus prædâ, *copiam dicit & ubertatem*, 7. 5.
Opera, *officioſa ſcil. in iis quæ amicis aliiſque præſtamus*, 5. 4. operâ ejus acciderunt res adverſæ, *culpâ*, 7. 6.
Operire, *obtegere*, 23. 9.
Opes, *pro potentiâ*, 15. 16. opes magnas poſternere, *magnam vim hoſtium ac numerum, adeòque potentiæ hoſtilis partem non minimam*, 1. 5.
Opes alienæ, *potentia, patrocinium*, 23. 1.
Opinio, de quo quanta fuerit opinio eorum, *quid judicaret* 18. 13.
Opulentis, 12. 3.
Opus, opera, *munitiones*, 1. 7.
Ora Aſiæ, *extremitas*, 7. 5.
Ordinatæ copiæ, *quæ in acie ſtant*, 11. 2.
Ordiri reliquos, *vitam reliquorum exponere*, 7. 11.
Ordo equeſtris, *dignitas ordinis equeſtris*, 25. 19. ordo, *locus in agmine*, 14. 9.
Oreſtes matricida, 15. 6.
Origines Catonis, 24. 3.
Ornamentum habere ab aliquo, *honores & opes intelliguntur*, 25. 7.
Ornatus elephantus, *inſtructus ad pugnam*, 23. 3.
Oronte, *interpoſitum ſermoni, ut aliàs quæſo amabo*, 25. 4.
Oſtendere, *præ ſe ferre, cauſam allegare*, 10. 4. renunciare, 23. 12.
Oſtraciſmus, 5. 3.
Otium, *de ſtatu & facie pacis*, 22. 2.

P.

PActio, *induciarum ſcil. juramento ſancita*, 17. 2.
Padus, *flav.* 23. 4.
Palæſtra, *quomodo utendum*, 15. 2.
Paleſtræ vocantur, *quæ aliàs* Gymnaſia.
Pamphylium mare, 23. 8.
Pandates, 14. 5.
Paphlago, *pro Thyo*, 14. 2.
Pani præbendo urbs deſtinata, *more Perſarum*, 2. 10.
Pari prælio diſcedere, *æquis manibus, neutro victo, aut victore*, 2. 3.
Par aliqui, *ſcil. armis*, 18. 8. non eſt, *æquum*, 14. 6.
Parare bellum, *moliri, adornare in aliquem*, 23. 2.
Parare copias, *comparare*, 14. 10. parat proficiſci, *conſtituit*, 14. 4.
Parare diligentiâ, pretio, *acquirere*, 25. 13.
Parcere, quibus fortuna pepercerat, *quos fecerat ſuperſtites*, 8. 1.
Parere naturæ, *ejus ductum ſequi*, 25. 17.
Parere ſibi amicitiam cum, *comparare*, 7. 7.
Parma, *ſcutum breve, pelta tamen majus*, 11. 1.
Parricidarum exempla, 15. 6.
Pars illa, *factio*, 25. 8. pars mea nulla erit in hoc, *mihi nihil tribuetur, adſcribetur*, 7. 8.
Parus inſula oppugnata, 1. 7.
Paſſus, 1. 4. *His veteres metiebantur ſuos lapides & milliaria. Faciunt autem* 1000 *paſſus unum lapidem Ital.* 4000 *paſſus unum milliare Germanicum.*
Paterna provincia, *cujus præfectus pater fuit*, 14. 1.
Patientia apud Lacedæmones, *ſumma laus dicitur*, 7. 11.
Patriâ carere, *de exule*, 16. 1.
Patrimonium, *poſſeſſiones*, 25. 12.
Patroclus, 14. 2.
Paulus, *L. Æmilius Coſ.* 23. 13.
Paupertas Ariſtidis, 3. 3.
Pauſanias, 4. 1. Philippi *percuſſor*, 21. 2.
Pax non fida, *mala fide petita*, 18. 4. *pacis vocabulo ſæpe ſervitus tegitur*, 15. 5.
Pecunia publica, *de reditibus*, 2. 2.
Pellere patriâ, *in exilium*, 3. 1. adverſarios *fugare*, 23. 11.
Pellicere aliquem, *ſc. in ſuas partes*, 18. 1.
Pelopidas Theban. 16. 1.
Peloponneſus, 10. 10.
Pelta, *ſcutum parmâ brevius*, 11. 1.
Penates, *dii domeſtici*, 2. 7.
Pendere alicui pecuniam ex fœdere, *numerare*, 23. 7. *pendebant veteres monetas, quas nunc numerarius; inde tot vocabula ponderum in re monetariâ manſere.*
Per ſe, ſi per virtus ponderanda ſit, *ſine adſcititio rerum externarum pretio, ſola*, 8. 1. per ſuos *veniâ & conceſſu ſuorum*, 18. 10. neque per ſenatum efficere potuit, *propter Senatum, Senatu obſtante*, 14. 2.
Peræque, 25. 13.
Peragere propoſitum, *pertendere*, 25. 22.
Peragere, *de exercitu*, 18. 8.
Percuſſa eſt potentia, *convulſa*, 16. 2.
Perdiccas, *Amyntæ & Euridices filius*, 13. 3. *inter amicos Alexandri*, 18. 2.
Peregrinatio, *aliàs demigratio*, 25. 2.
Perfuga, *tranſfuga*, 14. 6.
Pericle, 7. 2.
Pericula, *labores belli, pugnæ, prælia*, 16. 4.
Perinthus, *urbs Thraciæ*, 7. 7.
Pernicies, ad perniciem alicujus cogitatum, *pro morte, interitu, exitu*, 14. 6.
Perorare de, *cauſam dicere*, 19. 4.
Perpetua vita, *tota*, 24. 1. oratio, *continua*, 15. 5.
Perſequi, *ſcil. narratione*, 24. 2.

Perſequi aliquem, *conari è medio tollere*, 7. 10.
Perſeverare, *de conſtantia conficiendi belli*, 14. 2.
Perſona, *ſignificanter pro viro, cui adminiſtrationes publicæ innituntur*, 16. 4.
Pertinacia, *non recedentis, ſcil. à ſententiâ*, 22. 1.
Pertinere, pertinet ad remp. *reſpicit, refertur*, 7. 3.
Pervulgata ſunt nomina eorum, *publicè & vulgo nota celebrataque*, 15. 2.
Peuceſtes corporis cuſtos Alexandri, 18. 7.
Phalanx, 12. 1.
Phalereus portus, 2. 6.
Pharæ, 9. 1.
Pharnabazus ſatrapes regius, 6. 4.
Philenius, *res Hannibalis ſcripſit*, 23. 13.
Philippenſe prælium, *quo Auguſtus ſcil. Brutum & Caſſium devicit*, 25. 11.
Philippides curſor, 1. 4.
Philippus, *Alex. pater*, 11. 3.
Philiſtus Hiſtoricus Syracuſas perducitur, 10. 3.
Philocles, 7. 8.
Philocrates, 10. 9.
Phocion, 19. 1.
Phœbidas Lacedæm. 16. 1.
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Phryges, 14. 8.
Phyle, *caſtellum Atticæ*, 8. 2.
Pietas, *de affectu in neceſſitudines*, 25. 17.
Pila lapidea, *in quâ inciſa devotio Alcibiadis, mos infamiæ conſciſcendæ uſurpatus*, 7. 4.
Piræei portus triplex, 2. 6.
Piſander, 7. 5.
Piſidæ, 14. 8.
Piſiſtrati tyrannis, 1. 8.
Pittacus, 8. 4.
Placare aliquem, *reconciliare*, 4. 5.
Plaga, *pro calamitate*, 18. 5. plagæ, *vulnera*, 18. 4.
Platææ, 4. 1. Platæenſe prælium *apud Platæas commiſſum*, 3. 2.
Plato Tarentum venit, 10. 2.
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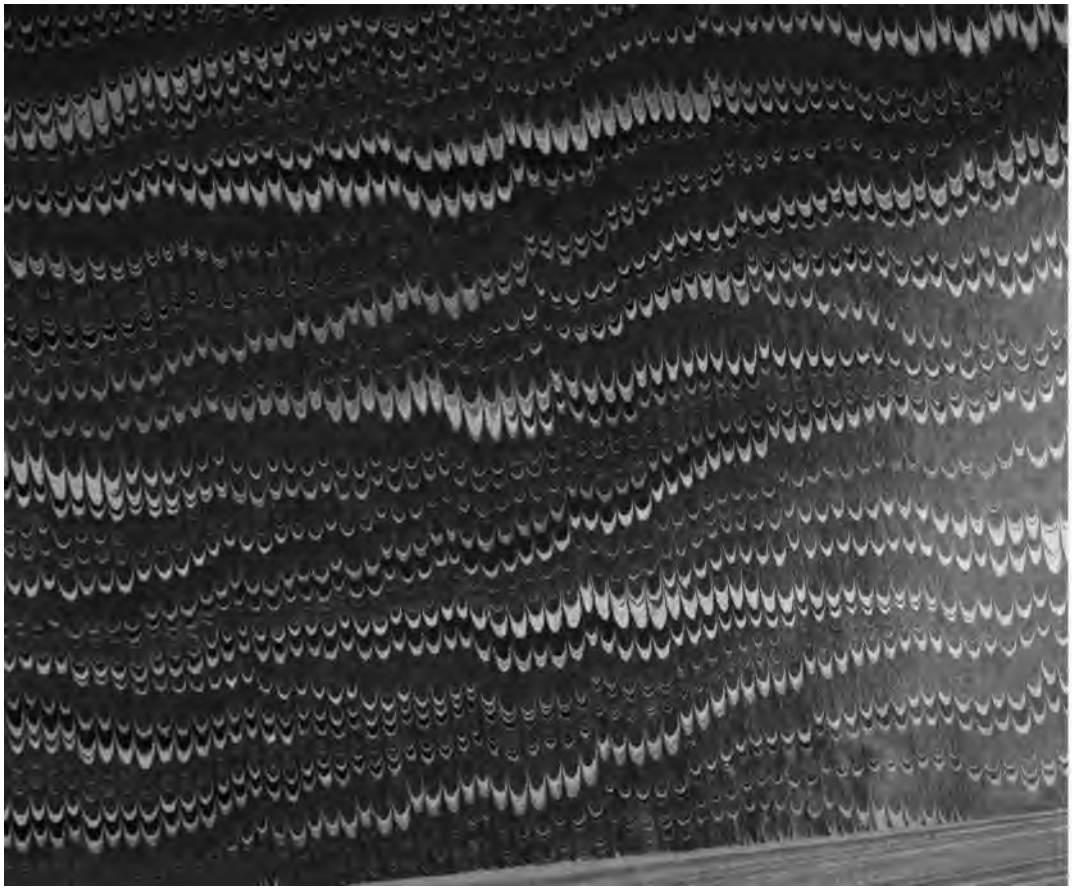
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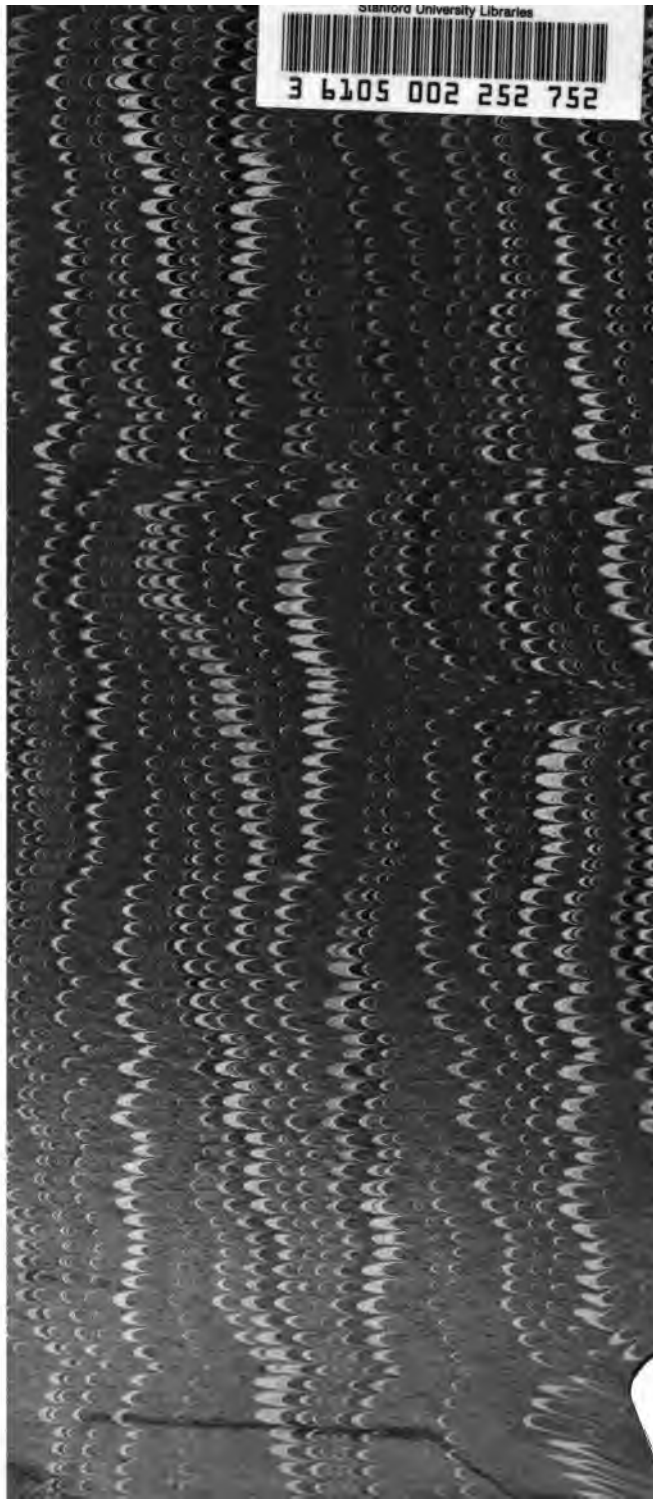
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